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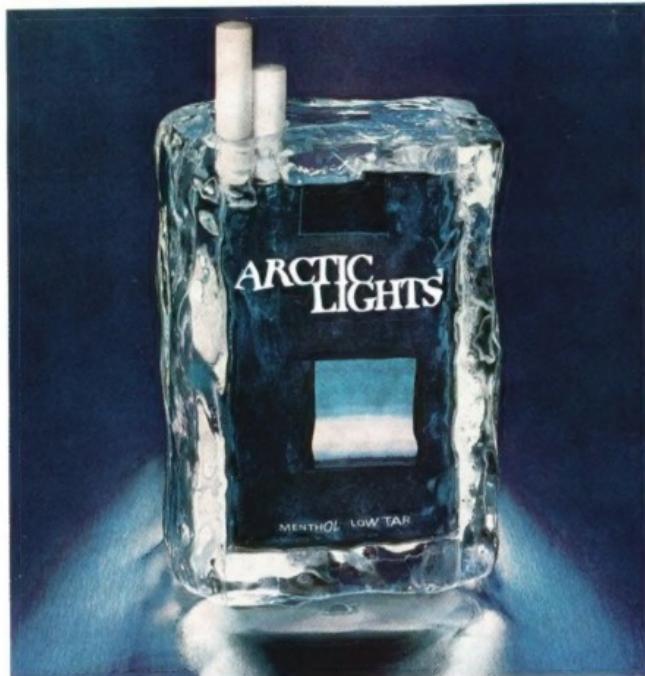
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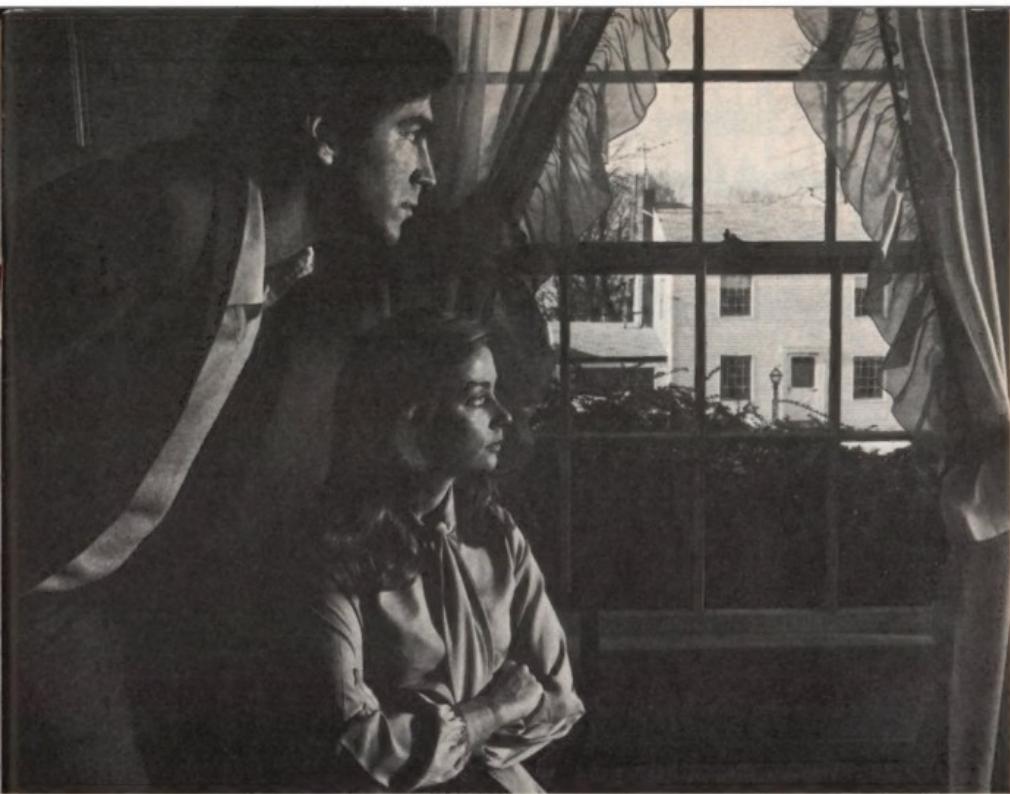
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A Letter from the Publisher

SALT by Christmas" was the slogan in Washington last fall, when the long stalled Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Geneva showed promise. TIME Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott raced to synthesize five years of notes—replete with diplomatic circumlocutions and the technical jargon of weaponry—into a lucid history of SALT. But Christmas came late, and history had to wait. Only last week, when Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin reached a general agreement on the proposed treaty, could Talbott complete his project. Talbott's narrative, part of this week's 15-page Special Report on SALT, is accompanied by Associate Editor Burton Pines' appraisal of the terms of the treaty and an assessment of the great Senate debate ahead.

"SALT confronts a journalist with two challenges," says Talbott: "Understanding the complex, secrecy-shrouded subject and writing about it so that readers can grasp it." Talbott undertook the first challenge armed with the discipline of a Rhodes scholar at Oxford (B. Litt., 1971). "I put myself through a crash course in the exotic hardware, the numerology of force levels and the foreign language of arms-con-



Correspondent Talbott checks facts with Vance

trol acronyms," he explains. As a student of Russian literature, the translator and editor of two volumes of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs (1970 and 1974) and an observer of statecraft, Talbott knew three essential SALT tongues: Russian, Kremlinese and the diplomatic parlance in which "frank" and "businesslike" indicate disagreement and stonewalling.

The halting pace of the negotiations proved an asset in attacking the second challenge of SALT reporting. Said Talbott: "I've had the luxury, rare in deadline journalism, of time to evolve a historical perspective and to return several times to my various sources." Most of these sources—officials in every U.S. agency involved in the talks, and some Soviets—refused to be identified as informants. "The SALT record is classified," explains Talbott, "and participants were constrained from publicizing what they knew." Talbott managed nevertheless to fill his "SALT notebook"—overfill it, to be precise. His expanded version of this week's

Special Report will be published by Harper & Row as *Endgame: The Inside Story of SALT II*. Is that the last word? Not at all, says Talbott. "Preparations for SALT III are already under way."

John C. Meyers

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Cover: Illustration by Nicholas Gaetano.



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Cover: After more than six years of negotiating, a new arms limitation treaty is complete. "It enhances the security of the U.S.," says Secretary of State Vance. But SALT II faces rough going in the Senate. See SPECIAL REPORT.



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There is a new thrust in antitrust. A two-day Time Inc. conference explores the changing, activist course of the nation's trustbusters. ► Henry Ford steps aside.
► Beer bust in West Germany.



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Gasoline: Memorial Day weekend starts the summer driving orgy, but there will not be enough fuel to supply it. Californians already are in a frenzy, and Congress refuses to authorize rationing even in an emergency. See IN AN EMERGENCY.

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Despite signs to the contrary, the passenger train is not obsolete, but America's peculiar way of dealing with it surely is.

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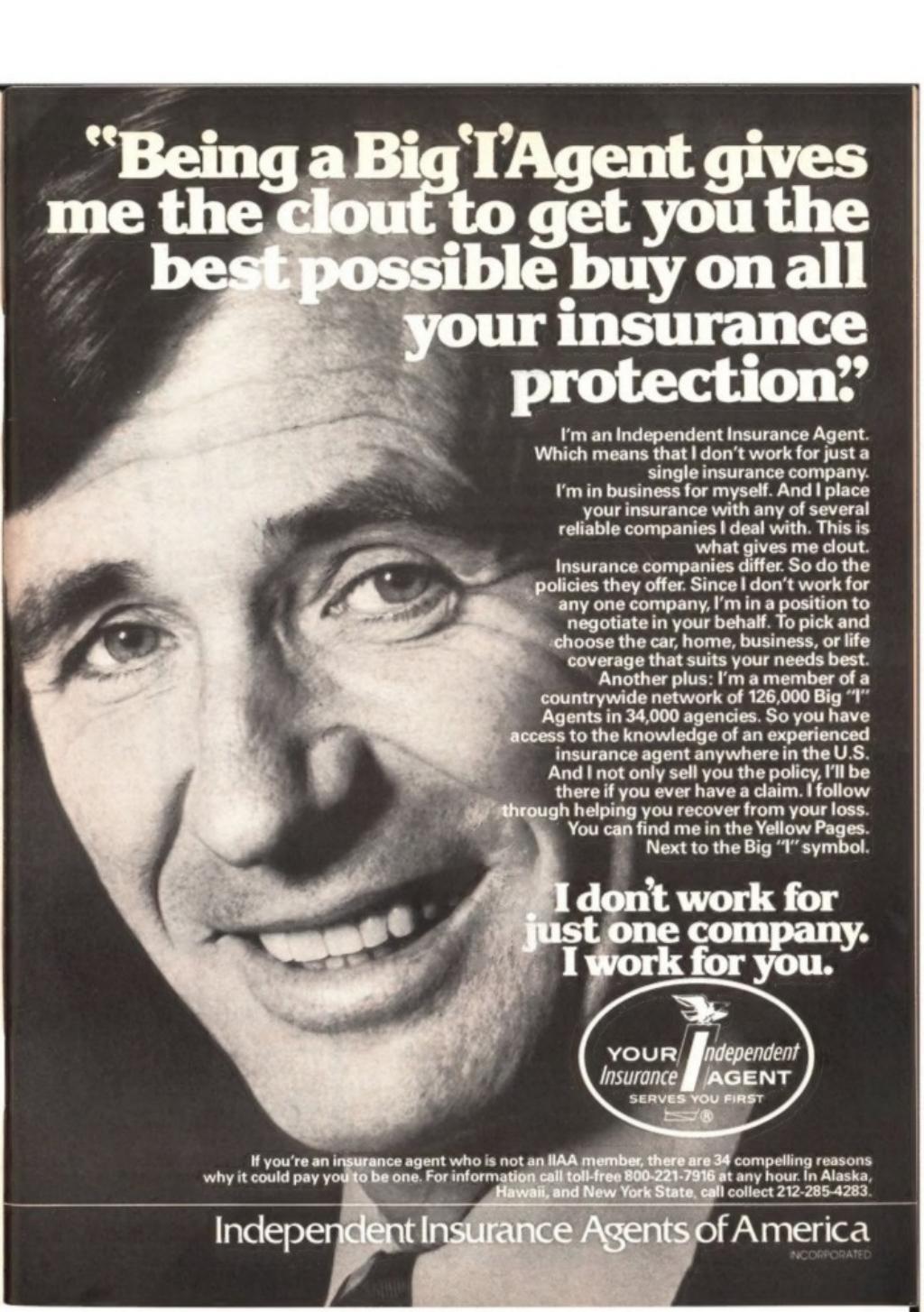
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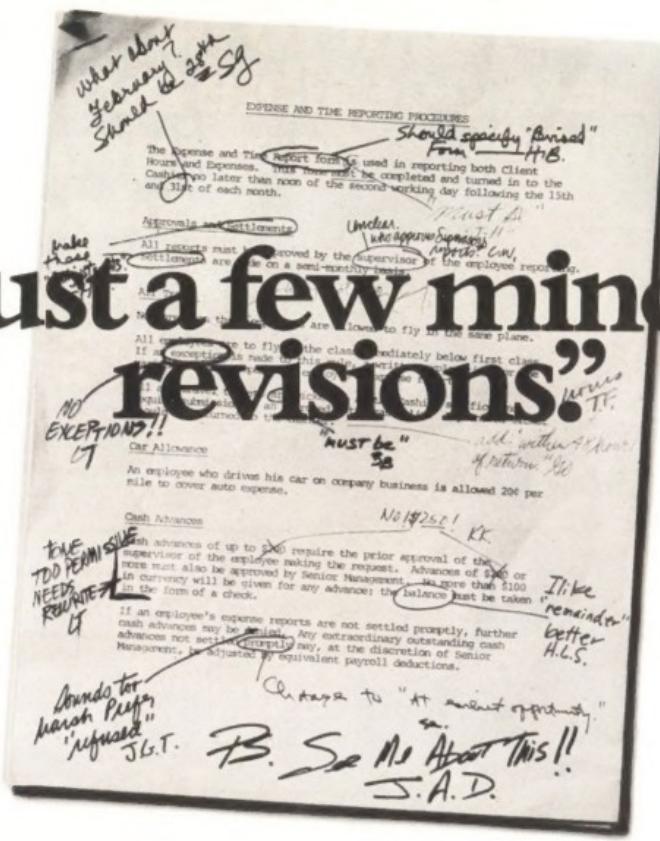


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Letters

Woody's World

To the Editors:

The world is as it should be, with Woody Allen on your cover [April 30].

Gabe Gibbons
Houston

Woody is one who is a Great Reflector of our national psyche.

Sherman Shand
New Orleans

Woody Allen a genius? Well, if he is, he is a sick one. He and his characters are so trapped in themselves and their hang-ups, sex and masochism that they don't know the world out here is beautiful and that most people aren't like that.

Katherine Hoyer
St. Louis



Far be it from my missionary zeal to suggest Christianity as a cure for Woody Allen's suffering. To put an end to his torment would put an end to his art—and that would be a sin.

Carolyn Armstrong
Silver Spring, Md.

I find only two words for Woody Allen's films: fetid *Weitschmatz*.

Michael J. King
Los Angeles

Maybe if Woody Allen had children, he wouldn't be so obsessed with death. Funny the genius didn't think of it.

David G. Clark
Rutland, Vt.

Not many humans can be funny and serious and be remembered forever as I predict Woody will be.

Ed Aronson
Pittsburgh

CIA's Importance

Edwin Warner's Essay on "Strengthening the CIA" [April 30] correctly emphasizes the CIA's importance to our na-



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Letters

tional security. However, it fails to note the need for intelligence charter legislation. The aim of charters is to authorize proper CIA activities and provide for effective congressional and executive oversight. Such legislation, which will reflect a broad consensus, should do much to remove what you term a "debilitating cloud of suspicion" from CIA operations and let it go ahead with its vital work.

Walter D. Huddleston
U.S. Senator, Kentucky
Washington, D.C.

Strengthening the CIA is a step in the right direction. If we're so intent on being the world's baby sitter, we need to know what the kids are doing.

Todd Fedoruk
Pilot Knob, Mo.

The CIA is crippled because of its own stupidity and highhandedness. That we suffer an intelligence gap is its fault, not the fault of those who reacted to scandal and are understandably mistrustful of its "Trust us—just one more time."

S.G. Finefrock
Midwest City, Okla.

Congressmen on the Wing

Flying Congressmen around the world [April 23] is a lot cheaper than paying for the programs they foist on us. I suggest we "Keep 'em flyin'."

John A. Klima
Mercer Island, Wash.

Congress may feel it needs a breath'er, but when do the taxpayers footing the high salaries, perks, trips and dozens of other self-indulgent acts get a chance to take a breather?

James Brescoll
Lisle, Ill.

The Plight of Gifted Children

What does it say about the future of the U.S. when school districts like that in McHenry County, Ill. [April 23], spend \$700 more on each handicapped child than on each gifted one? Although it makes us appear humanitarian, it also indicates dangerous shortsightedness.

(Mrs.) Cheri Pierson Yeeke
Lawton, Okla.

Your article would have the public assume handicapped children are receiving adequate educational funds while the gifted students suffer. Now I can tell my learning-disabled child how lucky she is in comparison to the "disadvantaged" gifted child.

(Mrs.) Ty Malloy
Bethel Park, Pa.

As the mother of both a gifted child and one with learning disabilities, I am very grateful for the special-education opportunities that have usually been avail-

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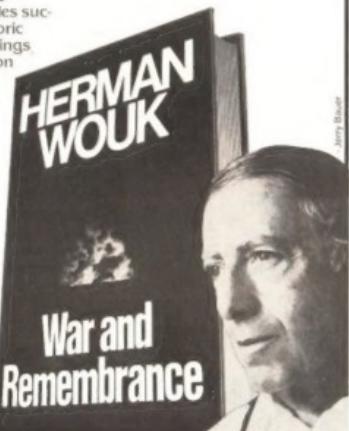
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Letters

able for my learning-disabled child. However, the needs of a gifted child to be identified at an early age and appropriately challenged are important.

Robin Gilroy Burke, Va.

Your article tends to perpetuate the questionable notion that a high IQ is synonymous with giftedness. It only tells us that a person has the potential for gifted behavior, but unless intelligence is combined with creativity and commitment, and shows up in performance, we have no rationale for assuming that a child is gifted.

Joseph S. Renzulli, Professor of Educational Psychology
University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

Hook vs. Wills

Your book reviewer R.Z. Sheppard tells us that Garry Wills [April 23] "refuses to accept the free market of ideas where one opinion is worth as much as another." If so, Wills clearly does not understand what a free market in ideas is. In no market, free or not, is one thing worth intrinsically as much as another, even if their prices are the same. In a free market of ideas, one opinion can be as freely expressed as another—but this has no bearing whatsoever on its worth.

Sidney Hook
Hoover Institution
Stanford, Calif.

Justice for the Mennonites

The situation of the Mennonite immigrants in west Texas [April 30] is a stark example of the great gap that can exist between the law and justice in any nation. That these devout and industrious people can be deprived of their life savings and deported under the laws of the U.S. constitutes a tremendous travesty of justice.

Robby Burke
Louisville

Of course the Mennonites aren't welcome here. They don't have any of the qualifications: they are law abiding, hard working, English speaking, interested in schooling and settle in sparsely populated areas.

Sara Upland
Redwood City, Calif.

Spying on South Africa

The childishness of the U.S. aerial espionage operation in South Africa was only surpassed by the Carter Administration's unwarranted retaliatory expulsion of two members of the South African military mission in Washington, and the statement that "the State Department flatly refused to deny the charges" [April 23]. May we conclude that the U.S. emphatically insists on being guilty? Since



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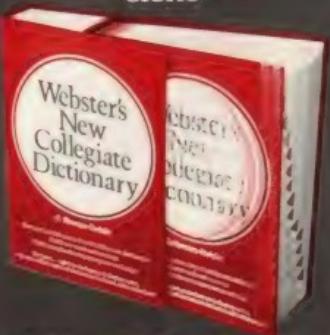
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Letters

when is it the prerogative of the Carter Administration to decide who should join the nuclear club and who not?

Chris Viljoen
Stellenbosch, South Africa

All this uproar over a plane operated by the U.S. embassy in South Africa being used for "spying" strikes me as a bit on the contrived side.

Several American pilots—I was one—flew all around South Africa in 1968 in a group of small planes rented from the South Africans. No government official even hinted that we should not use the dozen or so cameras we carried, and all of us did.

Max Karant
Bethesda, Md.

Bring Viet Nam Closer

As a Vietnamese of French nationality who has lived in France for 25 years, I think the best way to forget Viet Nam [April 23] and the pain of the war is, paradoxically, to normalize relations with Viet Nam, to help rebuild its too fragile economy. In your conscience you know that the misery is caused by your destruction of this poor, small country. The farther away you get from Viet Nam, the more it remains in your mind and heart as a kind of reproach and remorse.

Nguyen Hoai Nh n,
St.-Mars-d'Outille, France

George III Kept His Head

Re your account of the Reign of Terror [April 23], perhaps the reason the "American Revolution was a notable exception" to the usual postwar "period of vengeance and terror" is that it was not a revolution.

To be a revolution, an armed rebellion must overthrow the central government and replace it with a new system of government. The Americans successfully established a republic not by overthrowing a government but by kicking out a colonial administration. George III kept his head, and Lord North lived to see the early stages of the French Revolution.

Charles Crow
New York City

Marvin's Maid?

What the Lee Marvin decision [April 30] boils down to is that he has to pay \$104,000 in back wages for a domestic

Ted Berkelmann
New York City

Will Michelle Marvin have to pay some tax on her palimony?

(Mrs.) Phyllis R. Johnson
Needham, Mass.

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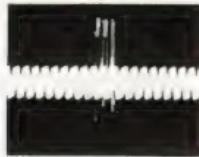
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Marcella Hazan demonstrating classic Italian cookery for students at La Belle Pomme school

American Scene

In Ohio: Sautéing Together

Columbus, the capital of Ohio, calls itself the All-American City. It has indeed produced such All-American institutions as Ohio State and Woody Hayes; James Thurber, who migrated to *The New Yorker*; John Glenn, of space and the U.S. Senate; George Wesley Bellows, the early-20th century painter-lithographer, who moved east; as well as the Accounting Hall of Fame, which never said "Goodbye, Columbus."

But, though Columbus is Ohio's second largest city—behind Cleveland, ahead of Cincinnati—with a metropolitan population of about 1.1 million, and shows signs of considerable prosperity, it does not have a major symphony orchestra, a notable theater, a ballet troupe, or a big-league art museum. It also does not possess a single tablecloth restaurant of even one-star distinction. If you want a good French dinner, they say, try Maisonette or Pigall's in Cincinnati, a two-hour drive. For topnotch Chinese food, head for Pan-Asia in Cleveland, northeast on the interstate. Some swear that a first-class Northern Italian meal may not be had this side of St. Louis (eight hours away).

It is only natural, therefore, that Columbus people should have taken to gourmet cooking with the gusto of fellow Ohioan Ulysses S. Grant taking Vicksburg. Ohio State offers for credit classes in French, Italian, German and Chinese cuisine. The International Wine and Food

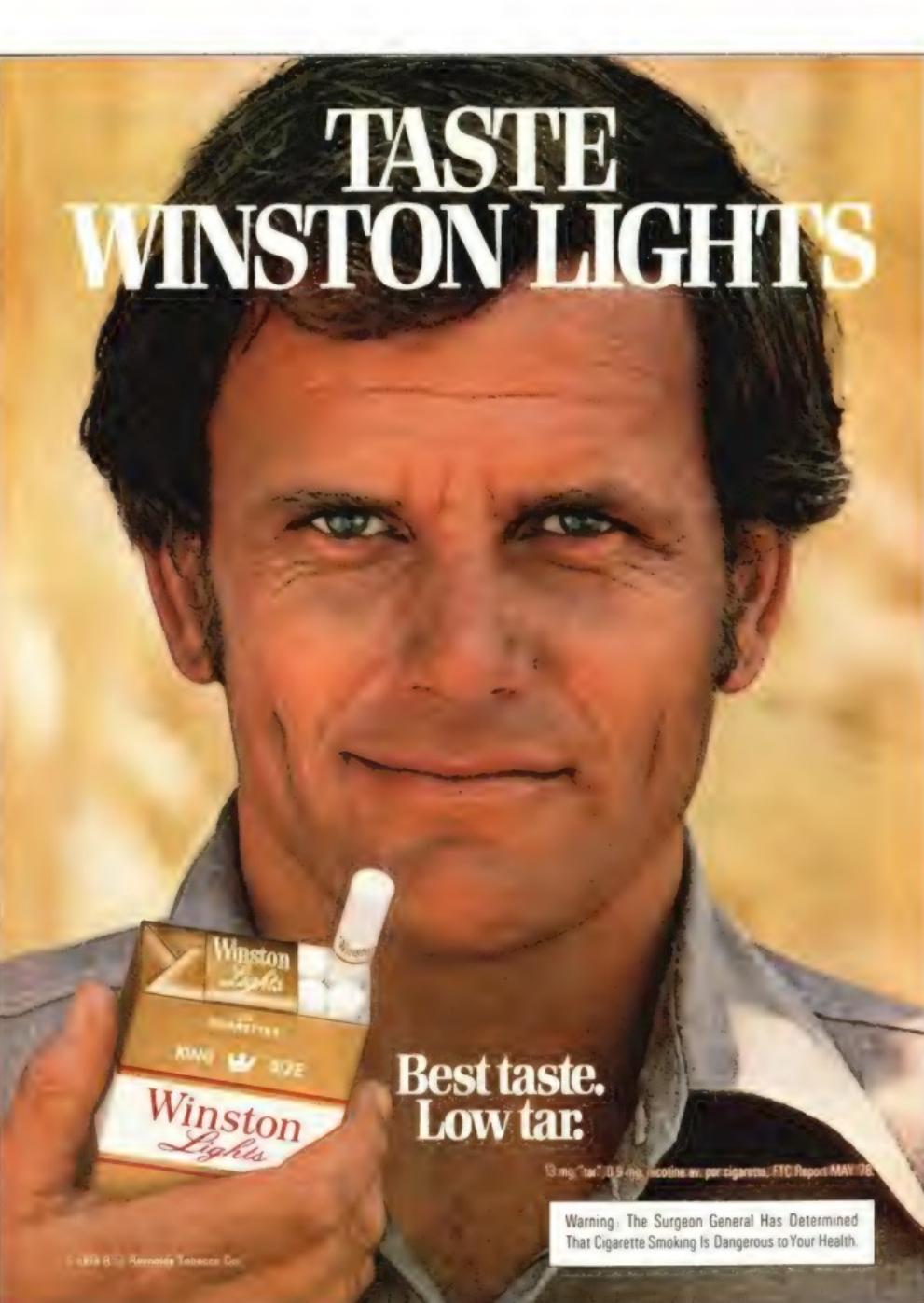
Society has a thriving local chapter, which produces an annual banquet. Cooking classes have lately sprouted in a number of private homes, as well as in a few well-stocked local emporiums, such as the French Market and the Cook's Palace.

But the focal point of culinary Columbus is a small, well-lighted school at 1412 Presidential Drive called La Belle Pomme. It is owned and run by Betty Griffin Rosbottom, 37, an energetic Sophie Newcomb graduate from Memphis, whose husband Ronald is a professor of romance languages at Ohio State.

Betty studied cuisine in New Orleans, Philadelphia and at La Varenne in Paris. Her classes range from basic Continental techniques to such extremes as Winner Soups. A Riviera Cookout and Favorites from the French Bakery. She has taken two groups of culinary acolytes on a week-long working pilgrimage to Paris. Last October Jacques Pepin, Charles de Gaulle's sometime chef, author of *La Technique* and glamour boy of the culinary circuit, came to La Belle Pomme to give an S.R.O. three-day course.

For two days this spring Betty's visiting luminary was Marcella Hazan, the most authoritative exponent of Italian cooking in the U.S. Her two three-hour classes, limited to 25 auditors at \$50 each per class, were sold out almost instantly after they were announced. Some applicants had already attended the school that

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American Scene

Hazan conducts each year from May to November in Bologna, Italy's gastronomical heartland. Most are Belle Pomme regulars, eager to branch out into the mysteries of pasta, prosciutto, parmigiana, pesce and pollo, not to mention savoring Marcella's *gelato spazza camino* (Scotch-laced vanilla ice cream chimney-sweep style, so called because it is topped with finely ground espresso coffee "soot").

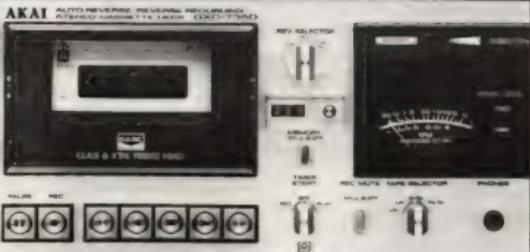
There is talk of Cuisinarts and coucous and knives as the group waits for the class to start. Then everybody scribbles away on a clipboard while Hazan ticks off on two big wall maps the different gastronomical and geographical regions of Italy ("We have 6,000 basic recipes"), expounds the secrets of olive oil, flour and cow cheese, goat cheese and sheep cheese. As if photographing each step on their minds, the students crane forward to retain the maestra's skill in boning chicken breasts ("Save the skins!"), her hammering of scallopini, her preparation from scratch of four-egg pastis in just about every form from *agnolotti* to *trofie*.

The class visibly cringes as Hazan, puffing on a Vantage, grandly sprays food-stuffs with salt from the box (exclaiming "wirrrrrwumpf!"), or dumps ingredients into the pan with a fine disregard for kilos, cups or spoonsful. "I guess it's like poetry," sighed an English teacher in the class. "First you master the 14-line sonnet, then you go to free verse." Finally, the salivating students get to devour Hazan's three-course meals, washed down with Robert Mondavi's Napa Valley red.

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The well-dressed, mostly well-heeled students, including six men, prepare all their own food at home without household help. They range from sophisticated *beefs* who have taken expensive courses on the Continent to young marrieds and a couple of high school students, one of whom is considering a career in cooking. Steve and Mary Stover treated each other to a Hazan class as a tenth-wedding-anniversary present. Several students say they regard cooking as a form of therapy. Indeed, one student suffering a "late 20s crisis" was actually referred to the school by her psychiatrist. A young real estate man, Steve Wittmann, became interested in sauces when he was living and studying in Florence, and has been an ardent admirer of *la buona cucina* ever since. One tyro, the sixtyish wife of a retired surgeon, confesses that she had never eaten an artichoke before signing up with Rosbottom.

The feeling in Columbus seems to be the family that sautes together stays together. Nancy Doherty, who grew up on a sheep ranch in Oregon and was a nun for eleven years, started dishing chow for shearing crews "as soon as I could reach the top of the stove." Later she served three meals a day for 300 people at a Philadelphia convent. She now caters to three children and a businessman husband, Paul, whose family in Buffalo "never had



The Royal Canadian Mint announces the 1979 Canadian \$100 22 karat gold proof coin

The Royal Canadian Mint, by authority of the Government of Canada is striking a limited issue of the 1979 'International Year of the Child' \$100 22 karat gold proof coin, the fourth \$100 denomination gold coin issued by Canada. It is now being offered for worldwide sale.

With a diameter of 27 mm, this precious metal legal tender coin weighs 16.965 grams of which 15.551 grams (1/2 Troy ounce) are fine gold. It contains 91.66% fine gold and 8.34% fine silver.

The obverse carries Arnold Machin's effigy of Queen Elizabeth II and the reverse a symbolic design by Ottawa artist Carola Tietz depicting six children linking hands to encircle the globe in the spirit of unity and communication inherent in the rights



of children everywhere, it is especially appropriate to 1979, the International Year of the Child.

Presentation Case and Certificate of Authenticity

A certificate of authenticity will accompany each coin attesting that it is a legal tender 22 karat gold proof coin struck by the Royal Canadian Mint and authorized by the Government of Canada. Both coin and certificate will be presented in a dark brown, genuine leather case lined with brown velour and decorated with an antique gold-coloured maple leaf.



Important notice

In order to fulfill as many orders as possible, the Mint reserves the right to limit the number of coins per order if, for any reason, it should be found necessary to do so.

The Royal Canadian Mint shall replace any coin found defective due to manufacturing or craftsmanship if the defects are reported to the Mint within 30 days after receipt of same. If, however, no replacement coin is available, the Mint shall refund to the purchaser the purchase price of such coin.

Orders which must be postmarked not later than 31st October, 1979 will be considered on a 'first come first served' basis until all 250 000 coins have been sold.



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Monnaie royale
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DEWAR'S PROFILE

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HOME: Oil City, Pennsylvania

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SCOTCH: Dewar's "White Label"® and water. "A delightful habit I acquired during my days in Hong Kong."

Gershon Chan

American Scene

less than six in help." Attorney Robert Holland, who has 225 cases of wine in the cellar of his house, regards gourmet cooking as a way of shaping "taste in the home." He proudly notes that his son Justin, 6, up and ordered *escargots* at a recent restaurant meal. Justin is obviously a prime candidate for the school's Kids Are Cooks Too! class.

Inevitably, there is the tense matter of competing and keeping up socially. A few overachievers may irritate the rest of the class by asking questions palpably designed to show off their expertise. (A kind of one-cupmanship?) Most students are sensible enough to check which of their friends have enrolled in which classes, so they do not wind up serving each other the same meal. But one couple who had taken Rosbottom's Summer Buffets course was considerably miffed at being served the exact Belle Pomme menu, from marinated pickled shrimp to frozen lemon soufflé, by friends who had not even attended the class. Says Attorney Jim DeLeone, "These days you have to learn to cook in self-defense."

New friendships often marinate in Betty Rosbottom's aromatic kitchen. So do occasional business deals: one woman sold her condominium through a Pomme-mate. Mostly, though, as Belle Pomme Teacher Tom Johnson points out, "the school has sharpened tastes and palates in town. They needed to be sharpened." Says Ann Leatherby, an amateur sculptor who has been taking courses at La Belle Pomme since it opened in 1976. "Before Betty set up shop, we were getting stagnate in this town, all doing the same things, going to the same parties." Now she routinely prepares specialties like Bourbon pork roast, Haitian lobster and puff pastry for family meals. Joan Stander, a farmer's wife from Urbana, an hour's drive, is no meat-and-taters lady, either. She has attended James Beard's classes as well as Hazan's, and lectures on herbs as a hobby. Diane Cummins, who has taken two cooking courses at Venice's Gritti Palace and signed up with Husband Millard for the Hazan seminar in Bologna this summer, specializes in pasta but also whips up French and Chinese dishes for domestic delectation. "Millard," she confides, "does not eat to exist, he exists to eat." Whenever they visit New York, she comes back "looking like an immigrant, with bags and bags of Atlantic whitefish, Scotch salmon and cheeses from Macy's."

Several couples agree that the process of sharing stove and sink has added a new dimension to marriage. Husbands have even learned to wash up the pots and pans occasionally. On the other hand, one Belle Pomme regular—and she is probably not alone—admits that she attends class solely for the exotic meals that come at the end of each lesson. "I'm not a gourmet cook," she explains. "I'm a gourmet eater."

—Michael Demarest



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WASHINGTON

August 9, 1974

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I hereby resign the Office of President of the
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Sincerely,



11:35 AM

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger
The Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

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Nation

TIME/MAY 21, 1979

Gas: A Long, Dry Summer?

Shortages spread, tempers are hot and Congress rejects rationing

By tradition, Memorial Day starts the American summer. Beaches, amusement parks, resorts welcome their biggest crowds since the previous Labor Day. The roads are jammed with city families streaming out to picnic areas or campgrounds. Next weekend, however, the streams may be more of a trickle, and some who venture forth may even be stranded, unable to find a gas station that will fill their tanks for the haul back home. Memorial Day could mark the point when the gasoline shortage of 1979 starts to hurt nationwide—and when Americans finally realize that the nation's growing addiction to unpredictable supplies of foreign oil can really jeopardize its prodigal way of life. And although President Carter asked for standby authority to impose gas rationing, Congress last week rejected his proposal. The vote, a stunning defeat for Carter, reflected all too accurately a national unwillingness to face the facts about energy if doing so would mean any change in cherished habits. It left drivers vulnerable to what Press Secretary Jody Powell called "allocation by chaos."

A so-far irresistible force is about to collide with an immovable object. The force is the average American's desire to climb into his auto and take off, regardless of revolutions in Iran, soaring gasoline prices or presidential appeals to drive less. Gasoline demand has increased 3% since last year. No decrease at all has been noticeable since President Carter in April called on every motorist to reduce driving by 15 miles a week.

The immovable object is the empty service station. Why it may be empty is a complicated question, but the fact is inescapable: gas stations just do not have as much fuel to sell as they did a year ago. Each month, oil companies are allotting their station chains anywhere from 5% to 20% less gas than in the same month of 1978. Every month, many stations are drained early, and in the last week of the month they start closing early in the evening, or on weekends, or until they get the next shipment. Come Memorial Day and the start of the great summer driving orgy, most experts predict serious trouble.

Much will depend on whether the rest of the nation follows California in gas-buying habits. For the past three weeks, Golden State drivers have been in a kind of panic, scrambling to buy every last drop available. Lines as long as eight blocks

have formed at those gas stations still open; motorists have waited three hours or more to fill up. At some stations, drivers who rose groggily at dawn to hunt for gas have had to queue up behind long lines of cars parked and locked by people who had left them there overnight. Fights with guns, knives and broken beer bottles have erupted in the lines. In Los Angeles a male motorist deflated the tires of a car that cut into line ahead of him, then beat up a pregnant woman who climbed out of the car to protest.

In an effort to calm the frenzy, 13 California counties containing more than



Sign of the times in California last week

And beware Memorial Day.

two-thirds of the state's drivers last week adopted an allocation plan—the first government-sponsored one in the nation in five years. The plan, made possible by legislation hastily drafted by Governor Jerry Brown, is that followed widely across the nation during the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo: drivers whose license plates end with an odd number can buy gas only on odd-numbered days, with even numbers only on even-numbered days. The plan will do nothing to increase supplies, or even to reduce consumption. It is aimed solely at reducing panic buying, and in its first few days, it failed to do even that. Most station attendants ignored an order to sell gas only to drivers whose tanks were less than half full.

The California uproar seems to have been caused more by panic psychology than by actual shortage. Atlantic Richfield officials estimate that Southern California gas stations are getting only 5% less fuel to sell this month than they did in May 1978. That relatively small shortage has been enormously magnified by two factors:

► Californians, having created an economy and culture almost totally dependent on the auto, are increasing their driving even more (as much as 9%) than Americans generally. Said Paul Lozoza, waiting in a Los Angeles gas line in a battered 1969 Chevy: "I'll drive, I'll drive. I'll have to cut somewhere else. Did you ever try walking around this goddam town? Ever try a bus?" (Angelenos voted down a proposal to build a \$6 billion, 232-mile mass-transit system in 1976.)

► California drivers started at the first sign of shortage to "top off" their tanks—buy a few gallons for an already mostly full tank—and thus caused a huge surge of panic demand. Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal told Congress last week that the average California gas purchase has lately been a mere \$3—barely enough to fill a quarter of the tank of a compact car at today's prices. "I've had this car washed four times in six days," reported Fred Tyler as he stood beside a dripping Mercedes 280 on Santa Monica Boulevard in West Hollywood. His reason: the Santa Palm car wash will sell five gallons of gas to anyone who will also pay \$3.49 for a cleaning.

Outside California, drivers so far seem to have their emotions more under control, but gasoline supplies are falling below demand in almost every state. Florida Governor Bob Graham reported last week that the summer shortage could be anywhere from 5% to 15%, depending on how much Floridians and tourists use their cars.

Across the nation gas stations are closing on Sunday or shortening weekday hours to conserve supplies so that they will have a few drops left to sell at the end of the month. In the Pittsburgh area, some 60% of all stations now close on Sunday; in Madison, N.J., some stations are selling gas from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m., closing until 4 p.m., then reopening till 7 p.m. To date, however, most drivers have simply grumbled and driven a bit farther to an open station.

Many are also beginning to take the eminently practical step of buying fuel-efficient small cars. Detroit had expected small cars to account for about 47% of all sales of U.S.-made autos this year. The actual share is now 54%. Sales of the GM Chevette and Ford Mustang in

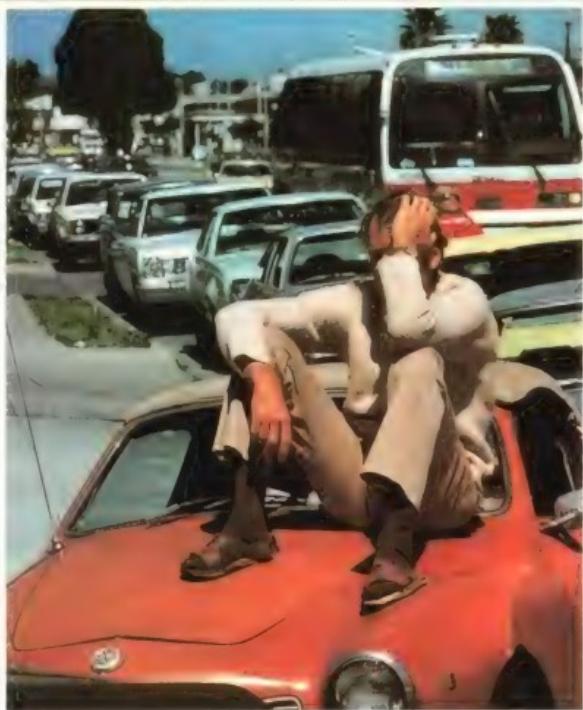
March and April ran 77% to 79% ahead of last year. Imports, mostly small and gas thrifty, are taking more than 22% of all sales, a record share. At the same time, sales of gas guzzlers are off so sharply that totals for U.S.-made cars in April ran 11.5% below a year earlier. Says Chrysler President Lee Iacocca, assessing the sales performance of his company's large offerings: "The big-car industry is going down like a rock."

There are ominous rumblings that the effects of the gas shortage may get much more troublesome. Gas lines have started to appear in Rhode Island, though they are short (only 15 cars or so) by California standards. Says Peter Montaguia, who owns an Arco station in Providence: "I'm getting lines between 7:30 a.m. and 10 a.m. A lot of the cars are driven by housewives gassing up for their husbands. Topping off has started; we're selling \$2 and \$3 amounts." Some Rhode Island dealers are apprehensively distributing bumper stickers (pompously worded PRIDE, HONESTY AND SERVICE!) to regular customers. Purpose: to enable the dealers to single out faithful customers and give them preferential treatment.

In some parts of the country, a real pinch could start as early as May 17. Gasoline dealers from 30 states met in St. Louis last week and resolved to try to organize a four-day shutdown, from Thursday through Sunday, in protest against federal price controls. Though the retail price of gasoline has risen 20% in the past few months, almost all of that has represented a simple pass-along of higher wholesale prices. Dealers have been permitted only two small increases in the gross margin of selling price over buying cost since 1973, and out of that they have to pay more for wages, rent, heat. It is too early to tell how widely the shutdown will be observed, but in some states the impact may be severe. When the Memorial Day weekend comes, closings will be widespread. Michigan officials fear that most of that state's gas stations will be dry by the time holiday crowds start heading home. Around Pittsburgh, 63% of gas stations will be closed Sunday, May 27, and 56% the next day.

What happens after Memorial Day depends heavily on whether Americans can somehow be persuaded to curtail their driving. Gasoline inventories in early May were not quite 7% below a year earlier, and production was running 3.6% behind 1978. That would be enough to produce a shortage, but one that would be quite manageable with a bit more car pooling, slightly shorter vacation drives, somewhat more use of public transportation.

"Traveling is no longer a luxury," says Edward Mayo, professor of travel management at Notre Dame. "It's a need, a right. You've got to get out of the house, get away from the urban centers, and people are going to get away one way or another." Many Americans, he asserts, think of their car as "a second



A frustrated motorist gets some sun while waiting out a gasoline line near Palo Alto

home—a castle." Sociologist Wayne Youngquist of Marquette University agrees. "The car is America's magic carpet, and it gives people freedom and autonomy—it's their little box where they have control over their environment. There is tremendous resistance to anything that threatens the use of the car."

Gas-station closings bring out a sus-

picious streak in many drivers. Across the country, large numbers of motorists believe that the shortage has been contrived by the oil companies and the Government to push up prices. Says John Langille, a Boston salesman who keeps topping off the tanks of his two cars: "It's the same as in '73. As soon as gas goes to \$1.20 a gallon we'll have all we want."

Not likely. If the shortage has been "contrived" by anybody, it has been by the 13 members of the OPEC cartel, who have reduced crude-oil pumping 7% to 10% in support of the 14.5% price boosts they have imposed so far this year. The cutbacks have turned last year's world oil glut into a global shortage, which the resumption of exports from Iran has not relieved. U.S. imports, which now account for half the nation's oil consumption, are running 8% below two years ago, when demand was much lower.

Two other factors aggravate the gasoline situation. One is that antipollution regulations require all cars built in the 1975 model year or later to use unleaded gas. A refinery needs 5% to 10% more crude to turn out a gallon of lead-



Irritation in an unmoving suburban line
Also, fights with broken beer bottles.

Nation



Horses tethered to parking meters by Beverly Hills lawyers who despaired of getting gas
On Capitol Hill, Congressmen were afraid of what the voters would think.

free as opposed to regular gas. More important, stocks of heating oil have dropped dangerously (4.6% below the "minimum acceptable level" for May). Refineries would ordinarily be starting all-out production of gasoline now, to supply the summer driving surge, but the Carter Administration is urging them instead to switch as much output as possible to heating oil, in order to make sure that enough is on hand by October to carry the U.S. through the winter.

Some kind of gas rationing may become necessary, but the Administration shorthanded its proposal and Congress shorthandedly rejected the whole idea. Carter made two serious errors. First, in order to get his new tax on windfall oil profits, he railed so vehemently against oil-company "rip-offs" that he fanned public suspicion that the

shortage is a hoax—though the Administration knows quite well it is not. Then the Administration presented a poorly drafted stand-by rationing plan; and when that came under fire, which should have been anticipated, it scrambled madly to find some kind of compromise that could get through.

Congress completed the debacle by yielding to parochial interests and finally shrinking fearfully from anything that might restrict driving. The Senate did approve stand-by rationing, 59 to 38, but only after forcing several concessions. The most important would have allotted ration coupons on the basis not of car ownership but of past gasoline consumption, thereby funneling more to Western and rural states. Besides, the Senate passed a resolution that the plan should go into effect only if gasoline supplies fell 20% below demand, a great-

er gap than anyone presently expects.

The House then thumbed down the plan, 246 to 159. One reason was that the same compromise that placated farm-state Senators angered urban Congressmen. Pennsylvania and California Representatives, whose states would have got less gas than under Carter's original proposal, voted heavily against it. Republicans seized on the chance to voice ideological hostility to Government regulation—and embarrass a Democratic President making an unpopular proposal. "We do not need rationing; we need production," cried John Ashbrook of Ohio. But the biggest reason for the turndown was simple fear that a vote even for stand-by rationing in an emergency would brand a Congressman as being "for rationing" and lose him support at home.

Carter on Friday called reporters into the Oval Office to announce that "I was shocked and I was embarrassed for our nation's Government." A majority of the House members "have apparently put their heads in the sand," he said, and left him with "no authority to meet what could be a national crisis." Rather than submit another plan for Congress to pick apart, he said, "I challenge Congress" to come up with its own rationing plan.

The centerpiece of Carter's present energy strategy—proposal to lift price controls on domestic oil next month and accompany that with a tax on windfall profits—is also encountering strong opposition. Two weeks ago, the House Commerce Committee tied, 21 to 21, on a proposal to extend price controls beyond their June 1981 expiration date. If the proposal comes to the floor, says Speaker Tip O'Neill, the vote will be "close." In fact, he adds that he would personally vote in favor of extending controls—though he normally lobbies the President's programs through the House.

Whatever happens, the outlook is for a long dry summer.



Up early to make an appointment to buy gas in Millbrae—and in Sunnyvale there is a long line to do even that





The U.S. Capitol attracts more than 70,000 demonstrators protesting the proliferation of nuclear power plants

"Hell No, We Won't Glow"

But the antinuclear movement strikes some sparks

With varying degrees of apathy, Washington has witnessed demonstrations by coal miners, farmers, chiropractors and bird watchers, by mimes protesting the imprisonment of six mimes in Spain, Tibetan-Americans complaining about their passports, and Strippers for Christ. But last week, in the wake of one of the largest marches since the Viet Nam era, in which more than 70,000 people assembled to protest the proliferation of nuclear-power plants, the capital began wondering whether an important movement may be in the process of being born.

The most concrete evidence of such a process was the unexpected approval by the House Interior Committee of a six-month moratorium on all new nuclear plant construction or licensing. Chairman Morris Udall had urged postponement of the vote until after a full investigation of the accident at Three Mile Island, Pa. But he found conservative Republicans joining liberal Democrats to pass the measure, and the full House is expected to pass it as well. Said Udall afterward: "The potential is there for making nuclear power the centerpiece of politics in 1980. It has an intensity of its own." Representative Edward Markey, 32, a Democrat from Malden, Mass., who proposed the moratorium, was in his district last month talking to a man in his 70s. "You know," the old man told him. "I think those kids may be right again."

The Udall committee's concern about nuclear power was based at least in part on a tour by some of the members of the crippled Pennsylvania plant last week. Three more human errors contributing to the accident were disclosed: 1) The operators not only shut off the auxiliary feed-water system two days before the accident but also mistakenly indicated on their check sheets that the water had been promptly restored. (Explained one super-

visor later: "I thought I completed that.") 2) A light that warned of the water shut-off was not seen for eight minutes because it was blocked by a tag hanging from a switch above it. 3) The first indication of real trouble, a hydrogen explosion during the first few hours of the accident, went unnoticed by federal inspectors even though a recording gauge registered it. The staff of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission later confirmed that such human errors turned what might have been a minor malfunction into a major breakdown.

Last week it was also demonstrated that nuclear plants are vulnerable to sabotage, and that there are people suffi-



Jerry Brown, Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden survey the signs of a new movement
"The potential for making nuclear power the centerpiece of politics in 1980."

Nation

ly demented to attempt such an action. At the Surry plant, near Richmond, Va., someone poured what appeared to be sodium hydroxide, a corrosive chemical used for cleaning and purification, over stored fuel rods in an attempt to damage them. Two days later the plant was the subject of a bomb threat. Although it was not known who undertook these measures, the FBI was investigating.

President Carter, having once helped disassemble a damaged nuclear reactor core, apparently has no doubts about the effectiveness and necessity of nuclear power. But last Sunday's demonstration reminded him of the antinuclear movement's possible political strength. Although he had declined an invitation to speak at the rally, he afterward invited the organizers to a quickly called meeting at the White House. "It's out of the question to pre-emptively shut all nuclear plants in the country," he told them, but he did say he would like to "minimize the requirement for nuclear power" and to shift toward "alternate energy supplies." Criticized Rally Organizer Donald Ross: "We told him he had to take a much more decisive antinuclear position." Translating such views into campaign terms, one Congressman predicted to colleagues in the House cloakroom: "Every one of us who doesn't come out against nuclear energy is going to face at least one candidate in the primaries who will make that his only issue."

Like many protest movements, the antinuclear battle began on the local level. Loosely knit coalitions of environmentalists, 60s rebels, disaffected youths, and newly politicized Middle Americans began organizing to fight power plants sprouting in their backyards. Three years ago, there was the Clamshell Alliance harassing the unfinished nuclear plant in Seabrook, N.H. More than a dozen other local alliances followed, named Oyster Shell and Conchshell, Catfish and Abalone. They formed loose ties with scientists unhappy with the handling of the country's nuclear-power program, such as the Cambridge-based Union of Concerned Scientists. The movement affected a wide coalition of national organizations: environmentalists like the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth and Mobilization for Survival; antiwar groups like the War Resisters League; consumer groups like Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group; and economic activists like Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy and William Winpisinger's Machinist's Union. Says Friends of the Earth mid-Atlantic Representative Lorna Saltzman: "What we have here is a grass roots movement, one that includes students, farmers, engineers and the middle class." Noticeably lacking, however, have been the poor and minorities.

Three Mile Island brought cohesion to the antinuclear movement. A few days after the incident, plans for a march were



A gesture toward future victories

made at a hastily called meeting in Washington, sponsored by Nader's group. "This represented a real turning point for the movement," says Tim Massad, one of the organizers. "Before this we had a network of groups on the local level. But now we see people directing mass action at the President and Congress, the people ultimately responsible for Harrisburg, instead of individual utilities." The "May 6 Co-



A touch of decades past
"Imagine this is what the '60s were like."

alition" initially raised \$20,000 from foundations such as the Stern Fund and other private contributors, and collected \$100,000 at the march itself to cover most costs. One of the movement's chief theoreticians, Washington University Professor Barry Commoner, was among the organizers. Says he: "I was floored by the size of the demonstration. This issue has become a dominant, broad public issue for the first time."

The slogans of the sunny Sunday on Capitol Hill were reminiscent of decades past, but subtle differences reflected the more mellow mood. "Two-four-six-eight, we don't want to radiate," the crowd chanted, and, "Hell no, we won't glow." There was the '60s spirit without the anger. The Frisbees and beer, the demonstrators working on their suntans, the organic food vendors and the costumes gave a festive air to the protest. For some this confirmed the feeling that what looks like a movement may merely be the rites of spring mixed with a nostalgic search for a new issue. Said Student Charlie Harrison: "I'm here to hear the music." Said Stephanie Klein: "I imagine this is what the '60s were like. It's kind of exciting." But most of those involved saw it differently. Said Pam Libby, who was on one of the 35 buses from Boston: "This was more than a cultural event, more than a musical event. This was a political event. We're going to turn this country's energy policy around."

The theme chosen for the march, "No More Harrisburgs," was broad enough to umbrella the still nebulous philosophy of the movement. Said Organizer Massad: "Some groups want an immediate, total shutdown of all nuclear plants. Some prefer a phase-out to reduce the economic shock, and others want a moratorium until future health and hazard studies are done." The most notable political figure among the demonstrators—and among such familiar protest figures as Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden, Dick Gregory and Bella Abzug—was California's Governor Jerry Brown, who called for a moratorium on new plants but not a shutdown of existing ones. Says he: "I'm at the forefront of the antinuclear movement."

I t may turn out, of course, that with the passing of spring there will be little movement to lead. The intensity of the antiwar protests or even of the ERA and abortion rallies, has not materialized. Students, the usual backbone of demonstrations, seem ambivalent. Many liberal and labor groups are dubious. Says James Wall, Carter's 1976 Illinois campaign manager: "The poorer segments of our society would be the first to suffer if we closed factories, raised the price of gasoline, or otherwise added to the cost of maintaining our energy-related existence." The first couple of weeks in June, when many antinuclear protests are scheduled on the local level around the country, will show the true strength of the movement.

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

"Can't You Do Something?"

Almost everybody seems to have a story about the energy problem. Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal phoned his 90-year-old father in California on a Sunday night. "Can't you do something about gas?" the old gentleman asked. The secretary's sister, also living in California, had always made a weekly drive to see their father. That Sunday she had called to say she did not have gas enough for the trip. "Well, Dad," answered Mike, a little extra feeling in his voice, "it's a big problem."

Jimmy Carter had a story to tell his Cabinet a fortnight ago. He had been to New England, Carter said, and the people there, barely out of this year's heavy snow, were scared that they would run short of heating oil next winter. He promised them that there would be enough, that the refineries were beginning to build up winter reserves. He went to Iowa, the President went on, and he found that diesel-oil shortages had developed, and concerned farmers urged that some fuel priority be given for planting, cultivating and harvesting their crops. He promised them that food production would not be jeopardized. And then he landed in California, continued Carter. That line was self-explanatory. There was a rueful chuckle around the Cabinet table.

Bit by painful bit, the sense of impending crisis is building within the Carter Government. American society's vulnerability to energy shortages has been seriously underestimated.

But why? The data were all there.

This question was being asked even within Carter's official family, and some of his aides told their own stories to make the points. Imagine what Lyndon Johnson would have done when he saw on his office ticker that gasoline lines were forming in California, said one harried energy planner. L.B.J. would have called in the oil executives and demanded a firm production estimate within 24 hours. He would have grabbed their arms and cut a deal—price decontrol for a reasonable tax on windfall profits. Then, the official continued, Johnson would have gathered a group of congressional leaders and had them help prepare an emergency rationing program. Meantime he would have assembled the Governors and filling-station operators and demanded a voluntary plan of restraint and allocation. Johnson might have overdone it, mused this fellow, but he would have been out ahead of the problem, leading the way. Such action in matters with a high psychological ingredient often staves off further complications. But it is an alien style for Carter, who still tries to lead by following.

There are many in and out of Washington who believe it is now impossible to over dramatize the energy shortage. Energy should be the top national priority. No other problem can devastate our society so thoroughly, so swiftly.

In fairness, Jimmy Carter has had an intellectual grasp of the energy problem since the day he walked into the Oval Office. He rightly declared the moral equivalent of war early in his term to cope with the impending crisis. He got little help from any other segment of American society. And transferring his statistical conclusions into leadership in such a hostile environment has been and remains an immense problem. Having formulated the energy plan and declared it publicly, he turned to other things. Energy slipped down his list.

Experts who warned him through the winter of the fragile condition of energy supplies found the President to be uncomprehending of the forces that could be unleashed by an energy crunch. He insisted in his best Sunday-school manner that U.S. citizens would voluntarily adjust to energy inconvenience. His uneventful weeks as Georgia Governor during the 1973 oil embargo further clouded his view. America could cope without a lot of shouting from above.

Maybe so, but it is suspected that this spring's energy troubles have outpaced Carter's comprehension, as well as that of most others. Now he may be in a catch-up race that could determine both his future and that of the nation.



Budget Battle

Fighting off big spenders—and big cutters

"We're working like s.o.b.s." said House Speaker Tip O'Neill. "I've talked to them all, trying to keep them in line." It took all of O'Neill's persuasive powers last week to keep Jimmy Carter's unbalanced budget for fiscal 1980 from coming apart under twin assaults from big-spending Democrats and from budget-cutting Republicans. The palaver apparently paid off. The House budget resolution to be voted on this week differed only slightly from Carter's version.

He had asked for a \$532 billion budget and assumed revenues of \$504 billion, with a \$28 billion deficit. The House lopped \$2 billion from defense, eliminated the President's proposed \$2.5 billion real-wage insurance and \$2.3 billion in revenue sharing, and added some funds to social spending. The result: spending of \$532.7 billion. But by estimating revenues at \$508 billion because of a higher projected G.N.P., the House claimed a lower deficit of \$24.9 billion.

Denouncing the budget as a "sham," House Republicans tried to clobber it with amendments. One of them was for a \$523.4 billion budget with a deficit of \$15.2 billion and a tax cut of \$6.5 billion. This was defeated 228 to 191. Then came a proposal for the spending of \$526.9 billion with an \$18.7 billion deficit. The measure was voted down, 218 to 198. New York Republican Jack Kemp proposed indexing individual income tax brackets to offset inflation in 1979 and cutting income taxes by 10% in 1980. By 229 to 182, the House said no.

Difficult as these fights were, the Democratic leaders actually had more trouble with their big-spending allies. Lobbyists from consumer, church, education, union and urban groups stalked Congressmen in the halls and their offices, showing open disdain for efforts to reduce the budget, despite the clear public cry for less Government spending. Scoffed Kenneth Young, chief lobbyist for the AFL-CIO: "The members are looking for ways to show how fiscally responsible they are. I'm afraid too many are just looking for political votes." Added Evelyn Dubrow, veteran lobbyist for the International Ladies' Garment Workers: "I think the members have been sold a bill of goods by the conservatives. It's like we never had a New Deal or a Fair Deal or a Great Society."

But the Democratic leaders had shrewdly calculated just the right amount of spending that a majority of the party would tolerate before the package fell apart. Explained House Democratic Whip John Brademas: "The liberals are unhappy because they didn't get as much as they want. We take the position that if the resolution is voted down, the conse-

quence will be not more money, but less. We've got a lot of new guys who are antis. We had to keep them on board. Peer pressure had its effect. They're not a bunch of irresponsible knotheads."

The House budget measure must be reconciled with the Senate version, which has much the same totals: \$532.6 billion in spending with a \$29.0 billion deficit. Thus, Congress may miss the May 15 deadline for getting its budget resolution on the President's desk, which is not an irretrievable loss, because the resolution is only advisory and the final budget will not be voted on until this fall. A larger question, however, is whether the spending approved by Congress will ultimately satisfy the inflation-plagued public and lead to the balanced budget that Carter promised by the end of his first term. ■

Skid Row Plot

A scheme to kill Carter?

The man clearly was unstrung. He had a history of mental illness. He also bore an eerily resonant name for a person claiming to be part of a four-man plot to assassinate a President: Raymond Lee Harvey. At first, it all seemed too weird to be taken seriously.

Unemployed and a drifter, the Ohio-

born Harvey, 35, claimed to have met three men with Latin names in downtown Los Angeles two weeks ago. On May 4 he was with the three in a third-floor room of the skid row Alan Hotel, near the Los Angeles Civic Center. The three told him they intended to shoot President Carter, who was scheduled to talk to a crowd in the center on the following day, a Saturday. They asked him to help. Under the plan, Harvey was to work his way toward the front of the crowd, then fire a starter pistol. That was to create a diversion during which two of the others would fire at the President with rifles from an undisclosed location.

Harvey was given a starter pistol. He and one of the men, whom he called Julio, went to the roof on Friday night and fired seven blanks from the pistol to see how much noise it would make. He spent the night at the hotel in a room with Julio. The other two men occupied another room on the same floor.

Just a wild tale by a wino? Perhaps, but just before Carter was to speak on Saturday, Harvey was in the crowd—and he looked so nervous that he drew the attention of a Secret Service agent. As the agent approached him, Harvey began walking rapidly away, and was seized. He was carrying a starter pistol. As he told his story, Secret Service and FBI agents tried to check it out. They found the man Harvey

knew as Julio, but he gave his name as Osvaldo Espinoza-Ortiz, 21. He admitted being an illegal alien from Mexico.

At first, Espinoza denied knowing Harvey, but under questioning he said he had known him for more than a year and knew the other two Latinos as well. They, he said, had showed him two loaded rifles. He knew one of the men as Umberto Camacho. Agents found a shotgun case and three rounds of live ammunition in refuse from the room rented by Camacho, who had checked out of the hotel on Saturday. When agents seized Harvey, Espinoza said, he had been standing in the crowd only ten feet away.

Was it nevertheless just skid row chatters among transients who had no intention of carrying out the killing? And why would they have wanted to kill the President? Federal prosecutors in Los Angeles were not certain. But they charged Harvey with conspiring to kill the President and jailed him on a \$50,000 bond. Espinoza was held as a material witness under \$100,000 bail. The other two men were being sought. The U.S. Attorney was to decide this week whether to seek grand jury indictments. Declared FBI Spokesman Tom Sheil: "Any time there's a threat against a President or a possible plot against a President, we're going to take it seriously." ■

Crate Idea for a Caper

Freeze, man!" Night Watchman Charles Taylor, who had been patrolling the second floor of the First National Bank in Palm Beach, Fla., quickly obeyed the shouted order, as well as instructions to hand over his keys and stand in a side room while the black-shirted, black-gloved intruder escaped. When police arrived on that night in late April, they found no sign that anything was missing from the room—a locked storage area in which socialites stash their artworks, silver and other valuables while they are away from home.

Last week, police said, the mystery was solved, with the help of a telephone tipster. He suggested that police take another look in the storeroom at a seemingly innocuous 4-ft.-square wooden crate and a black footlocker. "You'll be surprised," the caller said. Police were indeed. When they broke into the crate, they discovered a mask and air tube for breathing, containers of fruit juice and water, a bottle for urine, pliers, bolt cutters, eleven smashed padlocks and \$250,000 worth of loot, including rare coins, silver ingots and a case of 1934 French champagne. Inside the footlocker were three cement blocks.

Police learned that in mid-April a young man had opened a savings account in the bank in the name of John Kertz. A week later a deliveryman dropped the

crate off, requesting that it "be held for Mr. Kertz." The box was labeled POMPALIUM'S ANTIQUE, BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF., and marked FRAGILE. Guards moved the heavy box on a dolly into the storeroom, unaware that it contained not antiques but a man.

That night, police said, the man crawled out of the box, knocked the padlocks off eleven other storage containers, rifled them and put his pac and the broken locks inside the crate. Then he replaced the locks with new ones so that nothing would seem to have been disturbed. One theory was that he had intended to put the cement blocks in the crate too, so that it would weigh as much as when first carried into the storage area. The clever thief's plan had been to walk out of the bank, then have the box delivered to him. Bank officials might not have known anything was missing until patrons returned to open their boxes. Said Police Chief Joe Terlissez: "It was a fantastically ingenious job."

But for the tipster—a bank employee who claims to have been asked by a friend to help plan the burglary—it might have worked. Last week, acting again on the informant's tip, police went to an apartment in Coral Gables and arrested a suspect: William McFarlan, 23, a 170-lb., 5-ft. 6-in. freshman law student at the University of Miami, who was charged with grand theft and burglary. Police are now searching for a missing coin collection worth \$50,000.



The box that held a crafty bank burglar

Spring fever—love at first sip.



That's the way it happens.

*One taste of crystal clear Smirnoff
and sparkling spring water, and you've got
Spring Fever, pure and simple. Light it with lime,
and it's pure delight. It's as bright, and bubbly,
and breezy as the feeling it's named for.*

*And equally captivating at any season.
Remember, though, Spring Fever's been
known to be contagious.*

Smirnoff
LEAVES YOU

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Special Report

COVER STORIES

Now the Great Debate

Moscow was tough, but the Senate won't be easy

The normally restrained Cyrus Vance allowed himself a small half-smile as he faced a packed, steamy White House press room last week. He knew that he was about to make one of the most important announcements of the Carter Administration. But it had been so long in coming that instead of elation and high drama, the final declaration was something of an anticlimax. Reading from a prepared text, the Secretary of State said simply that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. "have concluded our negotiations on SALT."

What these few words meant was that after more than six years of frustrating bargaining, Washington and Moscow were finally ready to sign the Strategic Arms Limitation treaty known as SALT II. That night, at a Democratic congressional dinner in Washington, Jimmy Carter said that "a SALT treaty will lessen the danger of nuclear destruction, while safeguarding our military security in a more stable, predictable and peaceful world." The treaty will be signed by Carter and Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev when they meet in Vienna, June 15 through 18, for their first summit conference.

The time it has taken to negotiate the new accord indicates the sensitivity and complexity of arms control. At stake is the national security of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. SALT is not a disarmament treaty, and there are large elements of military force that it does not cover at all. What it does seek to do is maintain a strategic balance that deters nuclear war by allowing each superpower a force that could suffer a surprise atomic strike and still be capable of launching a devastating, unacceptably destructive counterattack. Eventually the SALT process is supposed to enable both sides to maintain the strategic balance at a lower level of armaments, but that still lies far in the future.

It is this basic notion of disarmament that gives the SALT process its fundamental popular appeal as a worthwhile enterprise. To date, however, arms-control efforts have not had much success. While the 1972 SALT I accord has halted deploy-

ment of an antimissile system, it only managed to freeze intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched missiles at existing high levels. The treaty ignored bombers and did not deal effectively with weapon modernization. Disappointed arms-control advo-

SALT's opponents, who believe the treaty concedes a perilous degree of Soviet superiority, are determined and well organized. They number almost one-quarter of the Senate, and need only one-third to block ratification and inflict a disastrous defeat on Carter's presidency.

The SALT II agreement announced by Vance is still only a working document. U.S. and Soviet negotiators in Geneva will resolve a few technical differences and prepare the final formal wording. The SALT II draft is 76 pages. It contains a preamble, treaty, protocol, statement of principles and several appendices. The treaty itself, which will run until the end of 1985, generally follows the outline set in 1974 at Vladivostok by Brezhnev and Gerald Ford and imposes equal numerical limits on the two strategic arsenals. Using weapon launchers as the basis for measuring these arsenals (it would be almost impossible to identify each warhead accurately), the treaty will limit each side to a combined total of 2,250 ICBM launchers, long-range bombers and submarine tubes capable of firing strategic ballistic missiles by the start of 1982. This actually is below the ceiling of 2,400 launchers set by the Vladivostok summit. Despite long arguments, the treaty will not limit the Soviet Backfire bomber, because Washington reluctantly accepts Moscow's contention that the new warplane, which is in production, is not being deployed in a manner that would enable it to attack the U.S.

Under the overall ceiling of 2,250, SALT II places a subceiling of 1,320 on those weapons regarded as the most destabilizing to the strategic balance (see chart following page). These mainly are the multiwarheads known as MIRVs, the acronym for multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles. By enabling several weapons to be fired from a single launcher, MIRVing has led to the rapid expansion of atomic arsenals even though the number of launchers was frozen by SALT I. The 1,320 subceiling covers not only land-based launchers and submarine tubes, but also long-range bombers fitted to carry cruise missiles, the highly accu-



U.S. submarine at Charleston being armed with Poseidon missiles
Not a disarmament treaty but an effort to maintain the balance

cates hoped that subsequent agreements would slash superpower nuclear stockpiles. The achievements of last week's accord remain relatively modest, but they do go beyond SALT I. For the first time, a few aging nuclear weapons actually will have to be dismantled, and some technology will be restricted.

More important, perhaps, the new treaty establishes a psychological climate for better relations between Moscow and Washington. That, in any case, is the view of the Administration and its supporters, but they now face a great national debate and a fierce battle in the Senate for ratification. The fight will be fierce because

Minuteman III in its silo at Minot, N. Dak.

rate drones that the U.S. is still testing.

Some types of MIRVs face special restrictions. For example, MIRVed ICBMs and submarine-launched missiles together cannot exceed 1,200. And under that ceiling, MIRVed ICBMs are limited to 820. The reason for this stricter limit is that the land-based ICBMs, by combining enormous thrust with deadly accuracy, pose an especially great threat to the U.S.-Soviet balance. Neither side, moreover, can test or deploy an ICBM armed with more than ten MIRVs or a submarine-launched missile with more than 14 MIRVs. To prevent several missiles from being fired from the same launcher, the treaty forbids testing of rapid reloading techniques or the storing of extra missiles near launchers.

In addition to limiting the numbers of strategic arms, SALT II places restrictions on missile size. Both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are prohibited from developing new land-based ICBMs larger than the Soviet SS-19. Since only the Soviets already have larger rockets (mainly the SS-18), and they will be allowed to keep them, the new limit in effect confirms Moscow's monopoly of giant missiles. But the U.S.S.R. cannot add to the 308 huge launchers now deployed.

To slow the introduction of new strategic weapons, each side will be permitted to test and deploy only one new land-based ICBM. A missile must be counted as new if there is a 5% increase or decrease in some of its key characteristics, such as length, payload and launch weight. The U.S. is expected to concentrate its effort on developing the MX missile, which probably will have a mobile launcher. Carter is under pressure to okay development of this system and is expected to make his decision soon.

To ensure that both sides comply with the treaty, Moscow and Washington will depend heavily on space satellites and electronic monitoring. They therefore agree not to interfere with each other's use of satellite photography and electronic devices. Specifically banned is the encoding of radio transmissions (telemetry) beamed from missiles to ground stations during tests, if that information is related to verification of the SALT I terms.

The protocol part of SALT II is in force only until the end of 1981 and deals primarily with new systems. During the protocol period, there is a ban on testing or deploying (but not developing) mobile ICBMs like the MX. Although no restrictions (in addition to those in the treaty) are placed on cruise missiles launched from airplanes, there can be no deployment of ground- or sea-launched cruise missiles with a range exceeding 372 miles. These weapons, however, can be developed and test-fired.

The final integral part of SALT II is the statement of principles. In it, the two countries set guidelines for SALT III and pledge to begin it "promptly" after the SALT II agreement takes effect.



THE RIVAL MISSILES

The U.S. Minuteman III and the Soviet SS-18 are the two most advanced strategic missiles in existence. Both have been fitted with Multiple Independently Targeted Warheads (MIRVs), one weapon for each of the three Minuteman family missiles, which can deliver three separate targets from the same missile. The adequate 20-kiloton yield of the Minuteman is equivalent to the Hiroshima bomb.



Minuteman III: the most advanced U.S. ICBM, currently armed with three MIRVs, each capable of delivering a 33-kiloton force. This is more than 16 times greater than the "Little Boy" A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima.



SS-18: the most powerful Soviet ICBM, currently armed with up to ten MIRVs, each capable of delivering a 1,000-kiloton force.

Missiles drawn to scale

CURRENT U.S. STRATEGIC ARSENAL

2,060

1,046

1,046

550

0

WHAT SALT II ALLOWS

2,250 maximum

All Strategic Nuclear Delivery Systems

1,320 maximum

All types of MIRVs

1,200 maximum

MIRVed SLBMs* and ICBMs

820 maximum

MIRVed ICBMs

Frozen at existing levels

Modern heavy MIRVed ICBMs (such as SS-18)

CURRENT SOVIET STRATEGIC ARSENAL

2,570

795

725

600

308

CURRENT U.S. CONVENTIONAL FORCES

Uniformed personnel
2,026,345

Aircraft carriers
13

Cruisers/
destroyers/
frigates
161

Tactical aircraft

5,364

Field artillery

5,500

Tanks

12,100

Attack submarines

81

WHAT SALT II IGNORES

Uniformed personnel
4,400,000

Aircraft carriers
2

Cruisers/destroyers/
frigates
284

Tactical aircraft

8,000

Field artillery

20,000

Tanks

50,000

Attack submarines

195

CURRENT SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES

Who Conceded What to Whom

How Carter and Co. negotiated the strategic arms treaty

Last week's announcement of agreement on a SALT II treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union capped 6½ years of negotiations. Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev hope that when they sign the treaty next month, they will be keeping alive a process that began with SALT I a dozen years ago and will continue—in SALT III, IV and V—for decades to come. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have been called the most important negotiations of the postwar era. But whether SALT II ever becomes the law of the land, indeed whether the SALT process is to continue, depends on the U.S. Senate, which must ratify the treaty by a two-thirds ma-

jority. The debate in the Senate over ratification will cover a range of questions, including one of history: Who conceded what to whom in exchange for what in the course of the negotiations? Attention has already begun to focus on the confused but climactic phase of SALT II, from the beginning of the Carter presidency until last week's announcement. Believing that one way to grasp SALT is to understand its evolution, TIME Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott has spent much of the past year reconstructing the Administration's conduct of SALT, based on exclusive interviews with key officials. His report:

Jimmy Carter had just been elected President, and the Kremlin was nervous. After eight years of dealing productively with Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, the Soviets found themselves confronted in January 1977 with a largely unknown quantity. Would this new American Administration finish the work on a Strategic Arms Limitation treaty begun by Nixon and continued by Ford? The SALT I interim agreement limiting strategic offensive arms signed by Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972, was due to expire in October 1977. Brezhnev and Ford had agreed at Vladivostok in 1974 on the framework of a new treaty to run until 1985: each side would be allowed 2,400 strategic, or intercontinental-range, weapons, 1,320 of which could have MIRVs. In January 1976, Brezhnev and Henry Kissinger had nearly reached an understanding on how to fit into the Vladivostok framework two new weapons, the Soviet Backfire bomber and the U.S. cruise missile, which had not been defined at Vladivostok. But by then detente, SALT and Kissinger himself had come under attack from presidential candidates in both parties, including Democratic Dark Horse Jimmy Carter.

After the Inauguration, Carter ordered the National Security Council to prepare for renewed strategic arms talks between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The NSC drafted Presidential Review Memorandum No. 2, an interagency study of the options available to the President. There was a loose consensus that the U.S. should seal the deal Gerald Ford had made at Vladivostok, and swiftly. Then the Administration could get on with more ambitious initiatives in the next round of talks, SALT III.

However, Defense Secretary Harold Brown, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, his deputy, David Aaron, and Carter himself were all dissatisfied with the Vladivostok accord. Its subceil-

ing of 1,320 multiple-warhead launchers allowed the two sides "freedom to mix" land-based and submarine-launched MIRVed missiles. The Soviets could concentrate their MIRV force on land, where their delivery systems were most powerful and accurate. Soviet land-based missiles, or ICBMs, fall into "heavy" and "light" categories. The 1972 SALT I agreement left the Russians with more than 300 heavies, much bigger than anything the U.S. has or, under the interim agreement, would be allowed to have. The remainder of the Soviet ICBM force is made up of many rockets classified as light, but still bigger than the mainstay of the U.S. deterrent, the Minuteman ICBM.

American strategists have long feared that the land-based Soviet rocket force, with its core of Hydronated heavy monster missiles, might some day be able to destroy all 1,000 Minutemen in a pre-emptive strike. Brown and Aaron were tantalized by the idea of using SALT II to restrain the MIRVing of Soviet ICBMs in

drafted by his right-hand man for strategic affairs, Richard Perle. "If further negotiations were to begin where the Ford-Kissinger negotiations left off," the memo concluded, "you would unnecessarily assume the burden of past mistakes."

Carter and his top advisers wanted, if possible, a Strategic Arms Limitation treaty that would be acceptable both to the Kremlin and to the junior Senator from Washington. Moreover, the new President's men were eager to do more than just finish Henry Kissinger's work for him. On a loftier plane, the Carter inner circle had an idealistic commitment to "real arms control"—measures to halt the arms race rather than merely establish rules for competition—and they felt that in the post-Inaugural honeymoon they had a unique opportunity to move boldly in that direction.

In early March, Brzezinski chaired a meeting of the Cabinet-level Special Co-ordination Committee in the windowless Situation Room in the basement of the

The issue of verification would become the grand obsession.

general and to reduce the number of heavy rockets in particular.

There was also a compelling political imperative for seeking to lower the Vladivostok ceilings. Congressional critics had been warning for some time that they might oppose ratification of any treaty that left the Vladivostok ceilings in place. The leading critic, Senator Henry Jackson, had breakfast with Carter at the White House two weeks after the Inauguration and argued that SALT II must come to grips with the twin problems of Soviet heavy missiles and Soviet land-based MIRVs. Afterward Jackson sent the President a detailed, 23-page memo,

White House. David Aaron suggested that the U.S. negotiating position include a proposal for an equal limit on the number of MIRVed ICBMs that both sides could deploy, plus a drastic reduction in the number of Soviet heavy missiles already deployed. The plan would have rolled back some Soviet programs and slowed down others, while leaving the American arsenal intact, although it would have been coupled with an offer to sacrifice some American weapons still on the drawing board. As Aaron later put it, "We would be giving up future draft choices in exchange for cuts in their starting lineup." Brown seconded the idea, adding that

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there might also be a limit on the number of missile tests each side could conduct in a year. Such a limit would further inhibit the Russians from improving their rockets.

Two days later, a Saturday, Brezhnev, Brown, Vance and Aaron met in the Cabinet Room with Carter, Vice President Walter Mondale and Paul Warnke, who had just been confirmed as chief SALT negotiator. The President reiterated his preference for a position far beyond the Vladivostok accord. Brown explained the idea he and Aaron had discussed earlier. Carter nodded vigorously and said, "Good. Let's do that." Warnke did not oppose the ambitious proposals, but cautioned: "If they're shot down by the Soviets, we'll be criticized for retreating."

Brezinski then directed NSC Staffer William Hyland, a veteran Government Sovietologist and former close aide to Kissinger, to draft negotiating instructions for Vance. Hyland produced what became known as "the comprehensive proposal." It would have held Soviet MIRVed ICBMs to 550, a level equal to the number of MIRVed ICBMs on the American side, cut the Soviet heavy force in half, from about 300 to 150, and allowed the U.S. to deploy all forms of cruise missiles with ranges up to 2,500 km (1,550 miles)—a much higher range limit than the Soviets had said they would accept.

At an NSC meeting in mid-March, Vance suggested that if the Soviets rejected the comprehensive proposal, the U.S. should be prepared instead to ratify the Vladivostok ceilings immediately and defer to SALT III the resolution of the Backfire bomber and cruise missile as well as deep reductions in the ceilings. Carter approved, as long as the Soviets understood that the comprehensive proposal was the "preferred" U.S. position. The deliberations over the comprehensive proposal were so secret that even the top layer of the bureaucracy was largely ignorant of what had happened until the eve of Vance's departure for Moscow.

When, just before leaving, Vance gave Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin a briefing on the proposal, Dobrynin commented pointedly that it seemed to have little to do with the Vladivostok accord, which the Soviet leadership was determined to enshrine in a new treaty. In Moscow, during a chilly "welcoming session" at the Kremlin, Brezhnev dwelt on the im-

portance of consummating the Vladivostok accord as a precondition to further arms-control measures. Then, at the first business meeting, Gromyko hinted in his opening statement—before the Americans had even formally presented their proposal—that his government knew what was coming and would reject it.

Despite these warning signals, the U.S. team expected the Russians at least to respond with a counterproposal. Vance had come to Moscow with top-secret "fallback" instructions for a compromise. These were hidden even from members of his own entourage. When some middle-level officials arrived early at the U.S. embassy for a briefing on their side's negotiating position, they found William Hyland at work with a pair of scissors, clipping out the fallback instructions before showing the document to the rest of the party. That evening at the VIP guesthouse in Lenin Hills, there was much grumbling about how "Hyland got caught shredding our orders."

Vance was never able to use his fallback instructions. Instead of making a counteroffer, the Soviets curtly, categorically rejected both the U.S. comprehensive proposal and the "Vladivostok deferral" alternative—the first because it would have sharply cut existing Soviet programs while leaving U.S. forces unscathed; the second because it deferred the issue of the cruise missile, which the Soviets wanted to constrain right away.

zinski and Warnke. The permanent U.S. SALT delegation in Geneva (led when Warnke was in Washington by his deputy, Ralph Earle) renewed biweekly "plenaries" with the Soviet negotiators. The press was rarely told anything.

The Soviets in Geneva never even hinted at the Kremlin's resentment of the Carter human rights policy, and the Americans were equally careful not to echo their Government's criticism of Soviet human rights abuses. Unaware of this rule, a newcomer to the U.S. team brought up the dissidents in an informal tête-à-tête with his Russian opposite number. When he reported the exchange later in a "memorandum," his superiors told him never again to mix business with displeasure.

Back in Washington during the spring of 1977, there was an intensive round of SALT-salvaging brainstorming sessions within the U.S. Government. One of the most important was a 2½-hour meeting between the State Department arms control director, Leslie Gelb, and the NSC's William Hyland over lunch. Hyland drew several columns on his paper napkin. He and Gelb then divided the tangle of SALT issues into three categories: 1) those that could be couched in terms of the Vladivostok accord; 2) interim measures that would allay Soviet concern over the cruise missile and U.S. concern about the upgrading of Russian ICBMs; and 3) goals for future, more ambitious agreements.

The sketch on Hyland's napkin became the basis for a three-tier proposal: a treaty to run till 1985, a three-year protocol, and a statement of principles for SALT III. Gromyko accepted that framework when he met next with Vance in Geneva in May. Gromyko also agreed in principle to lower the Vladivostok ceiling from 2,400 total strategic launchers during the life of the SALT II treaty. But the meeting left open the knotty questions

"Giving up future draft choices for a cut in their starting lineup."

In a press conference at the U.S. ambassador's residence, Vance announced that his mission had failed. Carter and Brezhnev publicly defended the proposals back in Washington. No sooner was Vance airborne than Gromyko gave a press conference too, accusing the U.S. of a "cheap and shady maneuver" aimed at achieving "unilateral advantage." As a stunned Cy Vance headed home, SALT II seemed to have degenerated into an intercontinental shouting match.

After the Moscow debacle, both sides set about quietly picking up the pieces. In early April, Dobrynin's limousine whisked him around Washington for private meetings with Carter, Vance, Brze-

zinski and Warnke. The permanent U.S. SALT delegation in Geneva (led when Warnke was in Washington by his deputy, Ralph Earle) renewed biweekly "plenaries" with the Soviet negotiators. The press was rarely told anything.

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Hyland scissored out secret instructions.

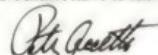
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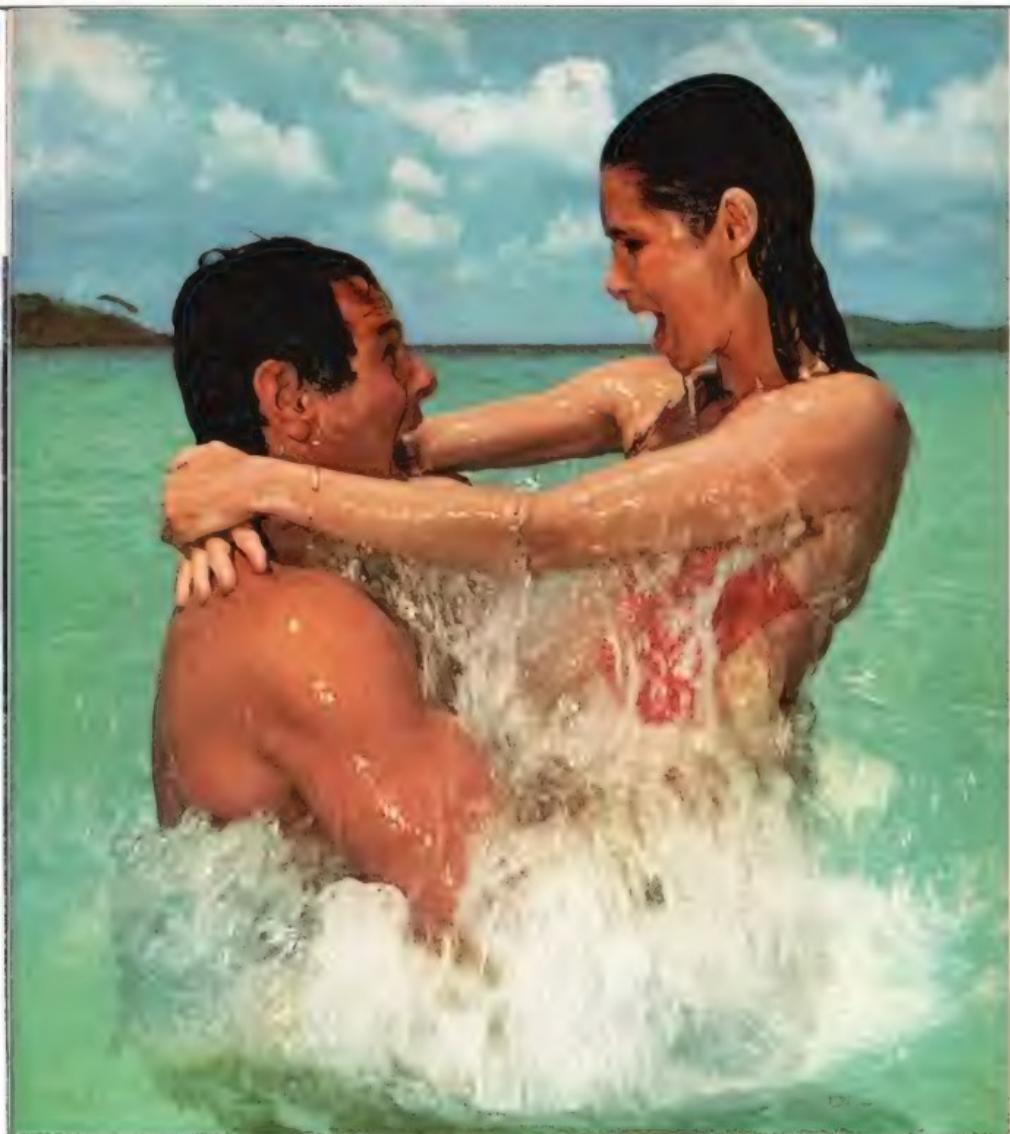
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MIRVed land-based missiles. The Soviets had already served notice they would reject any new provision that singled out heavy missiles per se. In May, Vance had proposed, and Gromyko had reluctantly rejected, a freeze on MIRVed heavies. Besides, Pentagon and CIA analysts had been

son: except for a telltale domed antenna, the MIRVed SS-19 silos were virtually identical to the unMIRVed SS-11 holes.

The U.S. SALT negotiators had been trying to get the Russians to accept a rule whereby once a given type of launcher had been tested with a MIRVed missile,

At issue: two ICBM fields with 180 underground silos.

saying for some time that the Soviet SS-19 rocket, technically classified as a light launcher, was more accurate and therefore at least as threatening as its brutish big brother, the heavy SS-18.

Toward the end of the summer, the policymakers began looking for a way to build into the Vladivostok limit of 1,320 total MIRVed systems a new subceiling just for land-based MIRVs, both heavy and light. This was a crucial shift in negotiating tactics. It meant that the U.S. was finally giving up on cuts in the Soviet heavy force. But it also meant, if it were accepted, that the Russians would have less "freedom to mix" between land-based and submarine-launched MIRVs. Aaron and Hyland first sounded out the Soviets on the possibility of a MIRVed ICBM subceiling at a lunch in the Russian embassy in late August. The Russians were non-committal but seemed interested.

Such a subceiling would make it all the more important that the U.S. be confident its spy satellites could keep an accurate count as the Soviets MIRVED more and more of their ICBMs. The Administration knew that the fate of the treaty in the Senate would depend largely on whether the U.S. could monitor Soviet compliance with the various restrictions. The issue of verification had become the grand obsession of SALT II.

During the summer and early fall of 1977 there was a heated, secrecy-shrouded debate over how to verify the number of Russian MIRVed ICBMs. The debate went on at the negotiating table in Geneva and within the Carter Administration. At issue were two ICBM fields near the Ukrainian towns of Derazhnya and Pervomaisk. American officials dubbed both the towns and the issue "D-and-P." The two fields contained a total of 180 underground silos, or launchers. One-third of the silos housed SS-19 rockets with multiple warheads; the other two-thirds housed older, less formidable SS-11s with single warheads. By satellite reconnaissance, the U.S. had kept careful count as the Soviets installed the SS-19s into one-third of the D-and-P silos. Nonetheless, officials in Washington—and particularly at the Pentagon—were worried about their future ability to distinguish MIRVed from unMIRVed rockets when mixed together as they were at D-and-P. The rea-

all launchers of that type had to be counted as MIRVed, regardless of what kind of rocket they contained. Vance and Warnke felt it was more important for the Soviets to accept that rule for the future than it was to resolve the potential ambiguity that existed at D-and-P, especially since a similar ambiguity existed in a U.S. missile field at Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana, where MIRVed and unMIRVed Minutemen were poised in indistinguishable silos.

But Harold Brown felt that any meaningful counting rule must apply retroactively to D-and-P. In other words, the Soviets would have to agree to count all the silos there under the U.S.-proposed subceiling for MIRVed ICBMs. Warnke and Brown got into a debate on the issue at a meeting of the Special Coordination Committee in August. Their disagreement was partly responsible for Vance's postponing his next scheduled session with Gromyko from early to late September. Finally the President sided with Brown.

When Gromyko arrived in Washington, he was wearing his most dour poker face. His first meeting with Vance was unproductive. The Secretary of State was deeply concerned that the talks were headed for another impasse and possible collapse. Vance took Gromyko into his mahogany paneled office with only their interpreters present and told Gromyko that he had better be more forthcoming with Carter the next day. If he was not, said Vance, there was no point in going through with the audience. Only then did Gromyko's stone wall crack: the Soviet government might "respond favorably" to an American proposal for a MIRVed ICBM subceiling, he said.

A suddenly optimistic Vance called Harold Brown on the special, secure telephone line connecting the State Department with the Pentagon. The two men arranged to meet with Brezhnev and the President to plan for the next day's bar-

gaining. They decided to seek two new subceilings: 1,200 for a combined total of land-based and submarine-launched MIRVs, and 800 for land-based ones alone (*i.e.*, MIRVed ICBMs).

The huddle went on into the early morning, with Aaron and Hyland assigned to hone the details. To make the idea of a new, lower MIRV maximum and an even more restrictive MIRVed ICBM subceiling palatable to the Kremlin, the U.S. couched it with a partial concession to the longstanding Russian insistence that bombers armed with cruise missiles be counted in the Vladivostok limit on multiple-warhead launchers. The American scheme involved subtracting 1,200—the new MIRV missile total—from 1,320, the old Vladivostok MIRV missile total. That left 120, which would become an allowance for bombers on each side armed with cruise missiles. Any more than 120 would have to be at the price of one MIRVed missile given up for every cruise-missile carrier added.

The next day's meeting between Carter and Gromyko was promising but inconclusive. Carter spelled out the proposal for counting MIRVed ICBMs under a new subceiling. Gromyko indicated interest. Carter stressed, however, that the plan was contingent on Soviet acceptance of a strict retroactive counting rule for MIRVed launchers: D-and-P must count as fully MIRVed. On that score, Gromyko reverted to his familiar recalcitrance. But the meeting had gone well enough for Carter to say he would like to get to know Brezhnev personally at a summit. In heavily accented English, Gromyko replied, "I think there are chances."

The chances looked even brighter the next week when Gromyko, attending the U.N. General Assembly in New York City, notified Vance he wanted to see Carter again. He had received new instructions from the Kremlin. Brezhnev asked Hyland to forecast the Soviet response. Gromyko would be bringing with him. Hyland's prediction: Gromyko would concede on D-and-P and

accept the American formula for counting MIRVed missiles, but would ask for slightly higher limits on the number of MIRVed ICBMs and on the combined maximum for land-based and submarine-launched MIRVed rockets. Hyland's recommendation: accept the Soviet numbers if they were within reasonable bounds.

When Gromyko arrived for his second meeting with Carter, the suspense in the Cabinet Room was palpable. But it quickly gave way to relief. Brown, who



Vance urges Gromyko to be less rigid.

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had picked up a smattering of Russian in earlier SALT negotiations, understood that Gromyko was delivering a positive response even before Interpreter Victor Sukhodrev began translating. Brzezinski, who has a good command of Russian, knew as soon as Gromyko began reading his statement that the answer, for a change, was *da*. Sensing from Brzezinski's and Brown's expressions that he was missing something important, Hamilton Jordan whispered to his neighbor, Hyland, to translate Gromyko. Mondale, meanwhile, was carefully studying Hyland's memo. It was as though the Vice President were getting ready to grade the paper on the basis of what Gromyko said.

The grade would have been an A.* Gromyko accepted the American position on D-and-P as well as the U.S. proposal for a lower total ceiling and for new limits within the 1,320 subceiling. Also, just as Hyland had predicted, Gromyko made a counterproposal with slightly higher numbers. But instead of accepting the Soviet figures, Jimmy Carter tried a bit of poker himself. Carter told Gromyko he welcomed the progress that had been achieved and expressed the hope that the remaining differences could be narrowed. (The Soviets ultimately got their way on the overall aggregate of 2,250 for total strategic systems, while the U.S. got its way on the MIRV aggregate of 1,200. The two sides compromised on 820 for the MIRVed ICBM sublimit.) At the end of the meeting, which both sides considered a major breakthrough, Carter showed Gromyko a plastic scale model of U.S. and Soviet ICBMs. The Russian behemoths, painted black, both outnumbered and dwarfed the graceful white Minutemen. "Now you see why it's so important to limit these things," said the President.

Another factor in the SALT equation, the Soviet Backfire bomber, also seemed within the realm of compromise. Gromy-

old Brown to joke that the Soviets must have been signaling their willingness to let the Backfire issue drag on forever.

The Soviet Foreign Minister left in his wake a swell of American optimism. One reason: shortly after Gromyko's visit, the Soviet negotiators in Geneva agreed to cancel altogether the development of the SS-16, a particularly worrisome missile because it would have been readily convertible into a mobile ICBM. Carter placed great importance on that concession. He told an audience in Des Moines that SALT II could be concluded "in a few weeks." Even his more cautious advisers hoped out loud for "SALT by Christmas"—a phrase that would have a melancholy ring when it was echoed a full year later.

The winter of 1977-78 turned out to be a frigid one for the treaty talks. Congressional critics, led by Jackson, howled "betrayal" when they learned that the Administration had abandoned its pursuit of a subceiling exclusively for heavy missiles. The Russians, meanwhile, did little to improve the atmosphere of SALT. The KGB intensified its crackdown on dissidents, and the Soviet-backed Cuban legions stepped up their intervention in Africa. Meanwhile, Christmas 1977 had come and gone. So had the October expiration of SALT I. Moscow and Washington promised to adhere to the old agreement until a new one could be reached.

The Carter Administration realized it

MIRVed superrocket, the "Missile-Experimental," or MX, off the drawing board and onto the launching pad. Moreover, the Russians wanted the ban on new ICBMs to contain an exemption so that they could proceed with a new single-warhead, solid-fuel missile to replace the aging, less reliable liquid-fuel SS-11 of D-and-P fame.

From early 1977 until mid-1978, the superpowers churned out a dizzying array of proposals and counterproposals on the same theme: the Soviets were trying to protect their new type of single-warhead ICBM while seeking to block development of the MX during the three years of the protocol that would accompany the treaty. The issue dominated the April 1978 Vance-Gromyko meeting in Moscow. Even

jokes at the negotiating table reflected the tension. A Vance aide picked up an electronic gavel and accidentally set off a clang bell. Smiling broadly, Gromyko's normally humorless deputy, Georgi Kornienko, said, "Well, there goes Washington!" "Quick," added Dobrynin, "somebody call Zbig and tell him it was a mistake!"

Finally, last May, Gromyko came to Washington with a bold new suggestion: the U.S.S.R. would give up its own new type if the U.S. would give up the MX until the treaty expired in 1985. This was significant—first because it would have done away with exemptions in the new-types ban; second because it elevated the ban from the protocol to the treaty; and third because it was extremely rare for the Soviets even to hint at sacrificing a weapon system that the Kremlin had apparently already promised the military.

However, the offer was unacceptable to the U.S. The reason: the Carter Administration was determined to preserve the option of developing the MX as a replacement for the increasingly vulnerable Minuteman. The U.S. was willing, however, to hold off deployment—but not development—of the MX until 1985 if the Soviets would refrain from deploying their single-warhead new type. Nyer, said the Russians: they wanted to kill the MX program, not merely impede it.

There was further progress in Geneva in July. Gromyko told Vance the Kremlin would agree to a ban in the treaty with an exemption for one new type of ICBM: each side would be free to choose either a MIRVed or a single-warhead version. Thus the U.S. could proceed with



Carter shows Gromyko models of ICBMs.

"SALT by Christmas": the phrase had a melancholy ring a year later.

ko had brought with him to Washington a draft letter from the Kremlin listing measures the Soviets would undertake to assure that the Backfire was not upgraded to a strategic weapon that could strike the U.S. American officials considered the assurances inadequate, but Gromyko and Vance agreed to relegate the Backfire letter to its own negotiating channel between Leslie Gelb and Alexander Bessmertnykh, one of Dobrynin's deputies. Bessmertnykh's name is derived from the Russian word for immortal, leading Har-

had underestimated the difficulty of the outstanding issues. One of the most troublesome, and certainly most important, involved a ban on new types of ICBMs. The bane of SALT has been that new weapons and the modernization of old weapons have had an insidious way of rendering arms-control agreements obsolete if not unequal. The Carter Administration, to its credit but also to its frustration, had been trying ever since the ill-fated proposal of March 1977 to use SALT II to slow the juggernaut of technological. The Soviets were receptive—but not for altogether idealistic reasons. They wanted a ban on new ICBMs that would prevent the U.S. from getting its own

*It also would have been Hyland's final grade. He was about to resign from the Government to take a job helping his old boss, Henry Kissinger, write his memoirs.

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its MX replacement for Minuteman and the U.S.S.R. with its solid-fuel replacement for the SS-11. But Gromyko made his proposal conditional on American acceptance of the Soviet position on a variety of other unresolved issues. The U.S. was not about to concede on all those points, but Vance and his party flew home from Geneva with renewed encouragement: the "end game," or "trade-off"

a B-52 with 20 cruise missiles and a 747 with 50 would count as two launchers, since 20 and 50 average out to 35 per plane. After relentless haggling, the Soviets inched up to 25 and the U.S. inched down to 30 as the base number.

In September, Gromyko came to Washington with an important concession on air-launched cruise missiles: the Soviets conditionally offered to drop their

SALT I from building anything as big and powerful as the SS-18 heavy rocket. It was politically important to the Carter Administration that SALT II allow the U.S. at least to match the SS-18 in number of warheads on the MX. That point would be critical when it came to selling the treaty on Capitol Hill.

As the negotiators zeroed in on an agreement, the policymakers tended to look more and more over their shoulders at Congress. The White House fired off a cable to Geneva ordering the U.S. delegation to insert an asterisk after the first reference to "treaty" in the Joint Draft Text that was being negotiated. The asterisk called attention to a footnote stipulating that the document, in its final form, might be an agreement for approval by a simple majority of both houses instead of a treaty requiring ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. The Soviets never took the asterisk terribly seriously. To them, it was a symbol of the basic capriciousness of American democracy.

Much more serious was another typographical feature of the Joint Draft Text. The U.S. and Soviet definitions of cruise missiles were set apart from each other, and from the mutually agreed treaty language, by brackets. Brackets signified disagreement. The Russians had long maintained that range limits on ground-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles in the protocol and restrictions on the number of air-launched versions per aircraft in the treaty should apply simply to "armed" cruise missiles; there should be no distinction between nuclear-armed cruise missiles and conventionally armed ones. The reason: it was extremely difficult for spy satellites and other "national technical means of verification" to distinguish between nuclear and conventional warheads on cruise missiles. Therefore on the same principle that the U.S. had made stick in the case of D-and-P, where UNMIRVED launchers were "deemed" to be MIRVED for purposes of counting under SALT, all cruise missiles should be deemed to be nuclear-armed.

For once, the logic of the Soviet position was difficult to refute. The politics, however, was more complicated. Pentagon planners were uneasy with the prospect that SALT II—which was supposed to restrain strategic nuclear arms—might end up, willy-nilly, restricting the development and deployment of some conventionally armed tactical weapons as well. West European strategists and politicians were even more concerned. The West Germans, banned by international agreement from having nuclear weapons, were particularly anxious to have access some day to conventionally armed, ground-launched cruise missiles—latter-

The Russians wanted to kill the MX program, not merely impede it.

phase" of SALT II had begun.

Part of the maddening dynamic of SALT is that the resolution of a general problem often confronts the negotiators with a MIRV-like cluster of specific problems of definition and detail. The ban on new types of ICBMs was a case in point. The tentative agreement on such a ban intensified the disagreement over what constituted a new type. The U.S. wanted to define a new type as any existing rocket tested with more warheads than before. This definition would force the Soviets to freeze the number of warheads on their three big MIRVed rockets: the SS-17 at four warheads, the SS-19 at six, the heavy SS-18 at ten. The U.S., for its part, would hold its one existing MIRVed missile, the Minuteman III, to three warheads. At the same time, Washington wanted the option of eventually MIRVing its one new type, the MX, with ten warheads.

Nothing doing, said the Russians. They wanted to define new types in a way that would allow them to raise the SS-17 from four to six warheads and that would limit the U.S. to six warheads on the MX.

However, in Geneva last July, the Soviets ventured the most explicit linkage to date between two issues: Gromyko indicated that his government would accept a freeze on warheads at the number already tested on each existing type of ICBM if the U.S. accepted the longstanding Soviet position on another matter—the number of cruise missiles allowed on each of the special bombers the U.S. planned to develop. The Russians wanted a limit of 20 cruise missiles per plane. Under their formula, a B-52 with 20 cruise missiles would count as one launcher against the ceiling of 1,320; a modified Boeing 747 armed with 80 cruise missiles would count as four launchers. The U.S. wanted an "averaging approach" pegged to the number 35, so that taken together,

insistence on a 2,500-km limit on the range of air-launched cruise missiles. A month later Vance set off on his third visit to Moscow as Secretary of State, and his aides were billing the mission in advance as "the last mile," "the final round," "the climactic meeting." The seasonal motto "SALT by Christmas" was again in the air along the Potomac. But the Soviets do not believe in Christmas. At the negotiating table in the Kremlin, Gromyko told Vance that the Russians agreed to accept the U.S. "averaging approach" on limiting air-launched cruise missiles. But Gromyko reminded his guest, earlier Soviet acceptance of a MIRV freeze on ICBMs had required American acceptance of a strict limit, rather than an averaging approach, on cruise missiles aboard bombers. Since the Russians were yielding to the U.S. on the averaging approach, Gromyko continued, their earlier concession on the MIRV freeze was no longer operative. Sighed a haggard American official, paraphrasing Lenin, "One step forward, one step backward."

Actually, there was at least a step and a half forward at that meeting. While the Soviets now claimed the option of MIRVing their existing types of ICBMs with up to ten re-entry vehicles—an unacceptable proliferation from the American standpoint—they did finally concede that the U.S. had the right to put ten warheads on the MX. Since the U.S. was barred by



"Well," quips Kornienko, "there goes Washington!"

"However, technically the U.S. would have had the right of MIRVing the Minuteman with seven warheads, since the missile had been tested with that number on two occasions during the Ford Administration."

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day buzz bombs. Throughout SALT II, NATO has had a vigilant, knowledgeable and highly influential watchdog in the U.S. Senate. Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn. He lobbied both Carter and Defense Secretary Brown to "protect" conventionally armed cruise missiles in SALT.

In 1977 the U.S. proposed a definition of cruise missiles that would contain a proviso: once the protocol expired, either side would have the right to deploy conventionally armed cruise missiles on airplanes other than heavy bombers without those planes counting against the 1,320 ceiling. Thus the precedent would be established that the treaty had no jurisdiction over conventional as opposed to nuclear weapons.

Vance, Warnke and Earle were never happy with this provision. All three men are attorneys, but they found the U.S. cruise missile definition too legalistic even for their lawyerly blood, and they privately sympathized with the Soviet view that it was essentially unverifiable. But they kept their misgivings away from the negotiating table, where they argued the case of their White House and Pentagon clients as best they could. The Russians, however, were adamant. "We see this as a pretext to gain unilateral advantage," said Chief Soviet Negotiator Vladimir Semenov—and he said it repeatedly. "Each time we address this subject, we

are trying to find stronger words."

Two key arbiters on the American side turned out to be Brzezinski and Mondale. Originally they had been skeptical about the Pentagon position. Then they became concerned that it might some day be important to preserve the nuclear/conventional distinction if the West Europeans were going to support the treaty—and, more important, if Sam Nunn were going to vote for its ratification. Finally, last November, Brzezinski and Mondale re-

fire as a strategic weapon nor to demand restrictions on where it could be deployed. Instead, the Carter Administration had settled for restrictions on the number of planes that could be produced and for the right to build a comparable American bomber. Since it was almost impossible for either side to distinguish between different types of warheads on cruise missiles, Brown was ultimately swayed by the argument that the Soviets might someday arm Backfires with long-range nuclear

Signed the American: "One step forward, one step backward."

assessed the matter again and now sided with Vance.

At the end of November, Vance, Brzezinski, Brown, Mondale, Carter and Jordan met at the White House to review SALT. They decided to back off the U.S. insistence on an explicit clause exempting conventionally armed cruise missiles. Brown decided not to hold out for the exemption partly because he had come to worry about what the Soviets might do with air-launched cruise missiles aboard the Backfire bomber. The U.S. had recently agreed neither to count the Back-

armed cruise missiles disguised as conventional ones and thus have a strategic nuclear weapon uncoupled by SALT.

The U.S. softened its position on the definition of cruise missiles in hopes that the Soviets would reciprocate with concessions of their own on at least two other outstanding issues: the number of warheads per ICBM (the U.S. wanted a minimum on Soviet rockets) and the number of cruise missiles per aircraft (the U.S. wanted a maximum on its own bombers). Vance, Warnke and Marshall Shulman, Vance's adviser on Soviet affairs, stressed

Reducing the Horror

In March 1977 Cyrus Vance received his real initiation as Secretary of State when he carried to Moscow Jimmy Carter's "comprehensive package" for deep reductions in the Soviet and American strategic arsenals. The Kremlin leaders rejected that proposal bluntly. Over the next two years, Vance met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko nine times, painstakingly searching out the compromises that finally led to last week's SALT II agreement. Sometimes Vance had only a day to shift gears from negotiating with Moshe Dayan on the future of the West Bank or Ian Smith on the future of Rhodesia to bargaining with Gromyko on SALT. In an interview with TIME's Strobe Talbott, Vance described the experience.

Keeping Up-To-Date on SALT: We've discussed the issues within the Government at least once every couple of weeks. Before setting off on a trip that will include SALT, I've made a point of zeroing in again on the subject. If I had 24 hours, I could sit down and reabsorb the necessary detail before going into the negotiations. Also, my 6½ years in the Defense Department were a real help. Picking up the technical aspects of SALT was not as difficult as if I'd had to start from scratch. Finally, as a trial lawyer, I've been trained to absorb a heavy dose of facts and retain them under considerable pressure.

Some of the meetings, of course, have been very difficult, very trying, very frustrating. But from time to time it's really been fun. The intellectual challenge of it is exciting, and when you finally get a breakthrough, it's really quite thrilling. SALT involves internal negotiations within each country as well as bilateral negotiations between the two countries. That aspect too is a fascinating intellectual exercise and a challenge. SALT also brings together scientific, military and political dimen-

sions, and it involves the important interests of our allies. All that makes it more difficult, but also more exciting than other negotiations I've been involved in.

On the Frustrations of SALT: One of my real frustrations has been that it's taken us so long. The delay has inhibited us from laying out the strengths of our position and from answering misleading or false statements by those who oppose SALT. One result is that it's given an impetus to the anti-SALT movement that's going to take us a while to push back. It would have been a lot easier in some ways if we'd been able to lay it all out as we went along. But we've had to live with the realities of an ongoing negotiation: we've had to stay within the parameters of those negotiations. God knows, it's been frustrating for me when I've read some of these stories that are just plain untrue and I haven't been able to come out and say, "Here's what the actual facts are."

There's another matter that bothers me, and I don't know the answer to it. I'd hoped we could find a way of involving the Congress more in the negotiating process so that they would have a better understanding of what was going on and what we were trying to achieve. I really don't think it's worked out as satisfactorily as it might have. We just have to find a way to resolve this issue of dealing with Congress in the future, because it's in everybody's interest for the members of Congress to understand what we're trying to do and what our problems are. It's hard for them to understand if we can't share everything with them.

Lessons Learned from the Negotiations: First, we ought to give more thought in advance to what weapons systems we're going to need. We should not have to keep options open on systems that we don't really need. If you keep options open on systems that are never going to be used, then you've just com-

this linkage in a series of meetings with Dobrynin in December. The Soviet ambassador indicated that his government was prepared to make reciprocal concessions when Vance and Gromyko met in Geneva later that month.

That left some relatively minor problems—and one very big problem: Soviet encryption of missile telemetry. Telemetry is the remote electronic means by which a rocket or a warhead sends back to earth data about its performance during a test flight. One way the U.S. monitors Soviet compliance with SALT is to intercept and analyze Soviet telemetry. Last July the Russians transmitted in code—encrypted—the telemetry from an SS-18 test, including the telemetry about the performance of the warhead—data that are helpful to the U.S. in determining throw weight or payload. The incident assumed political importance, for it went to the heart of the American obsession with verification. Ohio Senator John Glenn, the former astronaut, had already staked out this as "his" issue, on which his vote for or against ratification would largely depend.

CIA Director Stansfield Turner took a hard line at a number of meetings of the Special Coordinating Committee: SALT II should forbid the Russians to engage in any encryption whatsoever in their ICBM tests. Vance and Warnke felt Turner went too far. After all, they rea-

sioned, SALT entitles the U.S. to some but not all information about Soviet missile tests. For instance, the number of warheads on a rocket and its payload or throw weight would be governed by SALT II, but not the nature of the guidance system. Therefore encryption should be constrained but not banned altogether.

The President came down in favor of a modified restriction on encryption. The practice should be considered a violation of SALT "whenever it impedes" verification. (U.S. intelligence usually knows what information is contained on various channels of telemetry and which channels it must have access to for purposes of verifying compliance—and therefore which channels must not be encrypted, or transmitted in code.) Warnke and Earle were instructed to raise the issue with Semyonov in Geneva. Semyonov complained that the U.S. was trying to use SALT for purposes of espionage rather than verification. Just before Vance was due to meet with Gromyko in Moscow last October, Warnke and Earle raised the issue with Semyonov again: a common understanding accompanying the treaty must spell out that some telemetry is relevant to some provisions of SALT, and therefore encryption of that telemetry would constitute a "deliberate concealment measure." Without such a provision, said Warnke sternly, the treaty could not be properly verified; moreover it could not—indeed, should not—be ratified. "I'm

prepared to be criticized," said the much criticized Warnke, who had announced that he was resigning from his post and returning to private law practice, "but I'm not prepared to be ridiculed." This time Semyonov conceded the point.

But an extraordinary thing happened in Moscow a few days later when Vance arrived to negotiate with Gromyko. Semyonov was repudiated by his bosses. Gromyko stuck to the Soviet refusal to include even a limited ban on encryption in SALT. Over lunch, he said in English. "On this question I am like a stone wall." Kornienko said acidly that Semyonov "didn't understand our position." Vance and his colleagues could only hope that the Soviets were holding out on the issue for bargaining leverage.

When Vance returned to Europe in late December for his ninth meeting with Gromyko on SALT, the suspense was heightened by Carter's surprise announcement less than a week before of the opening of diplomatic relations with China. Now that the fabled China card was finally on the table, would the Soviets up the ante in SALT? Brezhnev said absolutely not. Vance and some of his advisers were not so sure.

The first two days of the negotiations were marked by a stiffening of the Soviet position on some minor issues but by major progress on some more important ones. Gromyko dredged up an



Cyrus Vance in his personal office at the State Department

plicated the negotiating process unnecessarily. I think this is an important lesson for the future—for SALT III. Second, I think there is a need for greater input in the way of arms-control considerations into the planning of military force structures. As we come to see our security interests best advanced by a stable and lower-level military balance, we will learn to integrate more effectively arms-control and force-structure planning as complementary rather than opposing elements in our defense planning.

On Dealing with the Soviets: We've learned that informal, exploratory and very private discussions are an essential part of the negotiating process. Without that kind of discussion, you just can't make the progress you want. You have to be able to sit down and talk very directly, essentially with nobody else around. That way the other side will open up and tell you. "Well now, this is what our problem is." It allows you to understand their problems and to see if there might be ways to take account of those considerations and still achieve your own objective. That's why it's of critical importance that you have this kind of channel. We found we just couldn't be as open with the press and the public as we'd originally hoped.

Why SALT Should Be Ratified: First, because it enhances the security of the U.S. and our allies. Second, it will help maintain strategic stability: it will reduce uncertainties with respect to the force structures of the two sides and thus enable each to plan forces in a more intelligent, less destabilizing way. Third, the treaty is based on adequate verification—not on trust. Fourth—and this is what I'd like to emphasize—we should never lose sight of the awesome horror of nuclear weapons and the incredible effects of a nuclear exchange. Anything that makes those horrors less likely is of fundamental importance to us, to the Soviets and to the whole world.

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old complaint: protective shelters for workmen hardening Minuteman silos at Malmstrom made it impossible for Soviet satellites to distinguish the MIRVs from the non-MIRVs, so the U.S.S.R. might have to insist on treating Malmstrom as an American D-and-P after all. Gromyko also raised for the first time with Vance a number of unresolved issues that had previously been considered secondary and had been dealt with exclusively by the permanent delegations, most notably cruise missiles. The Russians wanted, among other things, a ban on multiple-warhead cruise missiles—an exotic drone that the Pentagon had no intention of deploying during the treaty period but wanted to be free to test.

The most serious sticking point during the first two days of the talks concerned how much smaller the Soviets could make a modified version of an existing type of ICBM without that modification being classified as the one "new type" that each side was to be allowed under the treaty. In April 1978 the U.S. had proposed a limit of plus or minus 5% on any change in the length of the rocket booster, the diameter, the weight of the rocket at launch and the throw weight of an existing type of ICBM. The U.S. proposed some additional parameters as well. The Russians wanted a shorter list, but in May they indicated they would accept plus or minus 5% as the bounds of permissible change within whatever parameters were finally agreed upon.

However, two weeks before Vance met Gromyko in Geneva, the Soviet delegation took a big step backward: the Kremlin would still accept an upper limit of 5%, but now it wanted no limit at all on "downsizing." Gromyko improved slightly on that position, offering to settle for plus 5%, minus 20%. Vance replied that the U.S. would hold firm to a lower limit of 5%. At issue was whether the Soviets would be free to proceed with one or more new, smaller, more fuel-efficient, more accurate ICBMs under the guise that they were merely modified versions of old ICBMs. The U.S. felt that a 20% limit on downsizing would constitute an unacceptable loophole in SALT II; it would make a mockery out of the claim that the treaty banned all but one new type on either side. Gromyko's apparent willingness to compromise made the American negotiators hopeful that the Soviets would eventually return to their original acceptance of the U.S. position.

One reason for their confidence on



Karpov and Earle at loggerheads.

the major unsettled issues. Gromyko seemed to be under instructions to make concessions. The Soviets accepted, once and for all, a freeze on the number of warheads on existing ICBMs at the number already tested, and reaffirmed that the U.S. had the right to put ten warheads on the MX. The two sides further narrowed their difference on the average number of cruise missiles per bomber.

There was also considerable progress on the "common understanding" to govern encryption of telemetry. Vance and Gromyko worked out a compromise stipulating that any method of transmitting telemetry, "including its encryption," would be banned "whenever it impedes" verification—but that any method that did not impede would be permitted. Vance cited the encrypted telemetry of the SS-18 test in July as an example of what the U.S. would consider itself entitled to monitor under SALT II. Gromyko replied that the common understanding on encryption would be adequate to cover any case that might arise. But because Gromyko had not contradicted him, Vance felt the Soviet's response was satisfactory.

Stansfeld Turner, Harold Brown and Zbigniew Brzezinski, however, did not agree. They were following the negotiations closely in Washington. During a

Carter in Plains, Ga., to get his approval, then cabled the new negotiating instructions to Vance.

Vance, who received the cable on his third day in Geneva, was furious. He telephoned Brzezinski from the U.S. SALT headquarters, protesting that it would be pointless and provocative to try to pin down Gromyko any further on the issue of the July test. After checking with Brown, Turner and Carter again, Brzezinski called Vance back to tell him the order stood. Brzezinski's call caught up with Vance when he was already at the Soviet mission, beginning a private session with Gromyko. Because they were talking on a Soviet phone, with the Russians very likely listening in, the Secretary of State and the National Security Adviser referred only to "that matter we discussed earlier." The President, said Brzezinski, considered it "critical for ratification" that Vance elicit a satisfactory response from Gromyko.

Vance did as he was told, and Gromyko's response was testy and ambiguous. The Foreign Minister then had an unpleasant surprise for Vance: the Kremlin would not proceed with summit plans until all outstanding issues had been resolved, including the provision for multiple-warhead cruise missiles and other sticking points that the U.S. had previously considered too minor to delay a signing at a mid-January Carter-Brezhnev summit, to which the Soviets had already tentatively agreed. Soviet diplomats indicated in private conversation that their government was unhappy about the timing of Deng Xiaoping's (Teng Hsiao-ping) forthcoming visit to Washington in

"On this question," Gromyko said in English, "I am like a stone wall."

meeting in Brzezinski's White House office the evening after the second day of the Vance-Gromyko talks. Turner objected strenuously to the compromise wording of the common understanding; he did not like the fact that it explicitly permitted encryption under some circumstances. All three men felt that the common understanding left the Soviets with too much latitude to decide for themselves when they could encrypt and to what extent. It might even allow them to claim that in actual practice encryption never impeded verification and therefore was never forbidden. Brzezinski suggested that Vance should go back to Gromyko again on the July test, this time stating bluntly that the U.S. would consider a repetition of the encryption used in that test as a violation of SALT. Gromyko should be told that if the Soviet government disputed that position, he must speak now or forever hold his peace. Brzezinski telephoned President

late January. They did not like the idea of Brezhnev preceding Deng and very likely being eclipsed by him. Therefore Gromyko might have been using these eleventh-hour wrangles over third-rate issues as pretext to postpone the Carter-Brezhnev summit.

Vance came home exhausted, just in time for Christmas with his family—another Christmas without SALT. Ralph Earle and the permanent negotiators based in Geneva were ordered to go back to work until they resolved the remaining problems. Earle raised the July SS-18 test, plus the similar one that had taken place in December, with the newly promoted Soviet chief negotiator, Victor Karlov, who had taken Vladimir Semyonov's place. Karpov first seemed to acquiesce in the American position that a repetition of the encryption used in either of those tests after SALT II was in force would be a violation of the treaty. Then, in February, he told Earle he was under instruc-

WAS HE THE FINAL STITCH IN A TAPESTRY OF DOOM?



When he stepped from the shadows, the bazaar grew hushed. Suspicion hung heavy in the air, like incense. Who was he? The cool eyes gave away nothing. But the vested suit said quiet elegance, refinement – qualities as rare along the Street of Sights as thousand dollar bills.

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Special Report

tion to state that the Kremlin considered the agreed common understanding on encryption adequate to cover any case that might arise, and "no further interpretation was necessary." Nor was there progress on the equally vital issue of downsizing. Karpov held out stubbornly for the 20% limit that the U.S. considered an unacceptable loophole. Meanwhile, Vance and Dobrynin were conducting intensive negotiations in Washington. But the diminutive figure of Deng Xiaoping cast a long, dark shadow over even the "back channel" of SALT.

In mid-February the U.S. offered a compromise to break the deadlock. Vance told Dobrynin that the U.S. would agree to ban the testing of multiple-warhead cruise missiles if the Soviets would return to their original acceptance of plus or minus 5% as the permissible change in the size and weight of an existing ICBM. For two weeks Moscow blared complaints about American policy—particularly policy toward China—in public while emitting no positive signals through the back channel. American officials began to fear that the Kremlin might be fundamentally reassessing whether it wanted to conclude a SALT II treaty with the Carter Administration after all. Then, during the week of Feb. 26, Dobrynin delivered an encouraging message to Vance: the Kremlin would accept a 10% to 12% limit on the downsizing of ICBMs. Vance held out for 5%, but the Soviets were moving in the right direction. The Secretary of State took Dobrynin to see Carter in the Oval Office. The President told the ambassador that despite disagreements over Indochina, Afghanistan, Iran and other trouble spots, the U.S. and the Soviet Union must salvage SALT and improve bilateral relations. A few days later, in a surprisingly moderate speech, Brezhnev said he agreed.

The final weeks of the negotiations were among the most secretive and suspenseful of the past two years. Vance and Dobrynin were meeting regularly now, sometimes every few days, usually in Vance's hideaway study behind his formal office on the seventh floor of the State Department. On the problem of encryption, the Administration sought to do in writing, in the form of a letter from Carter to Brezhnev, what Vance and Earle had tried to do orally in exchanges with Gromyko and Karpov. The letter set forth the American contention that a repetition of the encryption used in the July SS-18 test and in a similar test in December

would be a violation of SALT II. The Carter letter elicited a quarrelsome Brezhnev response, also in writing: while not categorically rejecting the U.S. position, the Soviets objected to the citation of specific tests as examples of impermissible encryption; they challenged the U.S. to spell out exactly what it was about those tests that impeded verification. That was

for the SS-18 stipulated by the treaty.

But the Carter Administration felt it needed an additional rule to assure that the Soviets would not cheat on the warhead freeze. The rule would govern how many warhead-dispensing maneuvers the top stage of the missile could engage in as it re-entered the atmosphere. In December 1978, the Soviets had twice tested the

The diminutive figure of Deng cast a long, dark shadow.

something the American side did not want to do because the more it told the Kremlin about what it knew of those tests and what it needed for verification, the more it revealed about the workings of American intelligence. Brezhnev's test response also accused the U.S. of seeking eventual prohibition of all telemetry.

Such was not the American intent. Rather, the U.S. wanted the Soviets to acknowledge that some telemetry is relevant to SALT and therefore that some encryption should be forbidden. References to the July and December tests were intended only as illustrations of the general principle. So the NSC decided to try again with a second Carter letter to Brezhnev, this time concentrating on a restatement of the general principle that some telemetry is necessary for verification. Largely at the urging of Brown, this second Carter letter was accompanied

by a note, which Vance was instructed to give to Dobrynin, reiterating the U.S. position on the two 1978 SS-18 tests. The combination of the letter and the note worked. Dobrynin, at a meeting with Vance in early April, stated that the issue had been "resolved on the basis of these exchanges."

At that same meeting Dobrynin also accepted, once and for all, 5% as the limit on the increase or decrease in the length, diameter, launch weight and throw weight of an existing type of missile (this was a shorter list of parameters than the U.S. had originally sought). Nor could there be a change in the fuel type of an existing rocket, the number of stages, the maximum number of warheads or the minimum weight of individual warheads. These last two provisions were meant to prevent the Soviets from developing an SS-18 with a capacity to launch as many as 40 smaller warheads—four times as many as the ten-MIRV maximum

SS-18 with its full complement of ten warheads but with two feints—or "release simulations"—as well. Pentagon and Senate skeptics suspected that the Russians might be developing an SS-18 with a capacity to carry more warheads than allowed. The Soviets, however, claimed that the feints were merely intended to make it easier for the warheads to penetrate antiballistic missile defenses. To complicate matters, the U.S. had tested decoys of its own, and the Navy had designed the Trident I submarine-based missile to engage in almost exactly the sort of feints that the SS-18 had demonstrated. In the end, the U.S. negotiators insisted that release simulations above the maximum number of warheads allowed on a given type of missile would have to be distinguishable from the procedure used to dispense MIRVs. In other words, no more tests like the ones in December. Two weeks ago, Dobrynin told Vance that the Kremlin agreed.

That left Vance and Dobrynin faced with only a pair of mostly symbolic problems involving the American Minuteman ICBM: a loophole in the warhead freeze that would have left the U.S. free to increase the Minuteman's MIRV load from three to seven; and the lingering Soviet complaint about the protective shelters over the Minuteman silos at Malmstrom Air Force Base, which the Soviets claimed blinded their spy satellites. Vance and Dobrynin might have announced an agreement two weeks ago. But the Soviets were not yet ready to commit themselves to a time and date for the Carter-Brezhnev summit, and the Administration wanted to enhance the impact by making both announcements in the same week. So the two negotiators drew out their final round over three meetings. At their last meeting on Monday, Vance told Dobrynin the U.S. was willing to relinquish the option of seven warheads on the Minuteman—an option the Pentagon had no intention of exercising anyway. Shortly afterward, Vance telephoned Harold Brown and asked him to order the Air Force to remove the shelters at Malmstrom. Soon after that, the two Secretaries met at the White House to announce the agreement. ■



Vance phones Harold Brown as talks end.

"To Educate Their Senators"

Pro and con SALT lobbyists are focusing on a score of undecided votes



Vance, with Brown, announces treaty at the White House

Reaching agreement with the Soviets has scarcely ended the Administration's SALT negotiations. Now the bargaining shifts to Capitol Hill, where the Senate must be persuaded to approve the accord. Obtaining the required two-thirds vote may be the toughest political challenge the Carter White House has faced. Indeed it could be the most difficult foreign policy debate in Washington since the Senate rejected the League of Nations in 1920.

Although the score is certain to change once the legislators come under the full fire of the Administration's offensive, SALT II would be in deep trouble if a vote were held now. In sharp contrast to the 88-to-2 majority by which SALT I sailed through the Senate in 1972, today only 40 Senators appear to be enthusiastically behind the new treaty. Another ten will almost certainly back it though they say that they are still undecided. Definitely opposing the pact are some 20 hard-liners, such as Barry Goldwater, Henry Jackson and Jesse Helms, who distrust just about any arms deal with the Soviets. Joining these hawks probably will be about ten Senators now leaning away from the accord. A few doves, such as Oregon's Mark Hatfield and Wisconsin's William Proxmire, are also inclined to vote against the treaty; they view

it as a sham because it fails almost completely to reduce existing arsenals.

SALT's fate is going to depend on the Senate's remaining 20 or so members, who are genuinely undecided. Perhaps the two most important members of this swing group are the Senate's top party officials. Majority Leader Robert Byrd has carefully avoided committing himself. Said he: "I'll sit down and go over the treaty line by line and word by word." Active opposition by Byrd would probably doom the pact. Not so undecided is Minority Leader Howard Baker, whose backing last year was invaluable in the White House's successful drive for passage of the Panama Canal treaties. He told Carter last week that because of "serious misgivings about this treaty," he now tends to oppose it. Still, he has left himself some room to change his mind. Also uncertain of how he will vote is Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, who is regarded as one of the Senate's leading authorities on military issues. His voice is sure to sway some of his colleagues.

Coming on the eve of the 1980 presidential election campaign, the treaty will be formally submitted to the Senate in early July. The SALT struggle will be a major test of Jimmy Carter's ability as a national leader. Even now his personal prestige could hardly be more completely

on the line. He phoned Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger last week, offering them extensive private briefings on the accord. (So far, none of these Republican notables has offered to join the pro-treaty drive.) On the morning that the U.S.-Soviet agreement was announced, Carter was up at dawn to sign letters to all 100 Senators, assuring them that SALT II will reduce the danger of nuclear war. He intends to speak out frequently for the treaty and lobby Senators at a series of White House dinners.

Presidential Assistant Hamilton Jordan and other White House staffers have been developing a SALT-selling strategy for almost a year, and its detailed plans fill three black loose-leaf binders. Potential SALT supporters around the country have been identified and categorized by the staff of Presidential Assistant Anne Wexler. There are, for example, some 7,000 editorial writers who are to receive information kits. There are business and educational groups that will be mobilized, particularly ones that have a special interest in improved U.S.-Soviet relations. Said Wexler of her vast network of contacts: "They are ready to educate their Senators. If [White House Congressional Liaison] Frank Moore says he needs 50 Arizona businessmen to lean on Senator DeConcini, I'll be able to produce them." Meanwhile, Vice President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Defense Secretary Harold Brown and other Cabinet members will take to the hustings across the country to promote the pact.

In the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church will be the floor manager for the treaty and "resolution of ratification," the parliamentary instrument by which the chamber consents to the accord. But the principal SALT-seller is likely to be California's Alan Cranston, the majority whip, although he claims that he has not yet totally made up his mind on how he will vote. He began preparing for the fight last year, when he organized an informal study group of about 20 Senators who basically support arms control, though some have doubts about the new treaty. Most members are Democrats, such as Ohio's John Glenn, Colorado's Gary Hart and Iowa's John Culver. The only G.O.P. regulars are Maryland's Charles Mathias Jr., Rhode Island's John Chafee and Vermont's Robert Stafford.

The group has been meeting almost every other Tuesday in Cranston's large Capitol office, and already has been briefed by Vance, Brown, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, CIA Director Stansfield Turner and technical

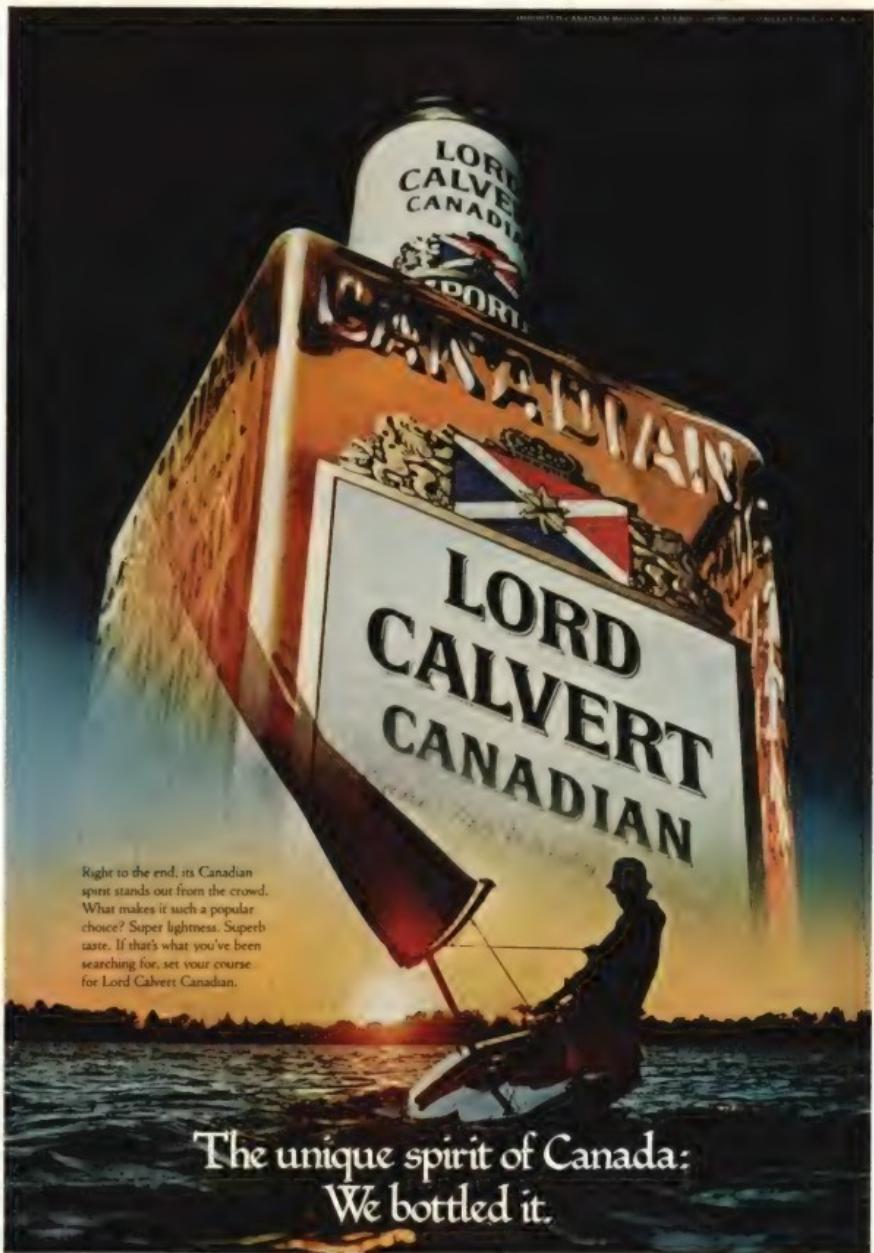


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Henry Jackson, Democrat of Washington
From what I know of the SALT II treaty, it is substantially unequal and unverifiable. It favors the Soviets. In its present form, it is not in the security interest of the U.S.

experts from the Pentagon and CIA. Several of the group's members will be playing crucial roles in the Senate debate. Culver and Hart, for instance, sit on the Armed Services Committee, which will hold hearings on the pact. And Glenn will be looked to by many of his colleagues for guidance on the question of whether the U.S. will be able to verify Soviet compliance with the treaty. So far, he has grave doubts.

SALT's backers do not claim that the accord achieves miracles. Instead, they emphasize that it simply is the best that can now be negotiated with the Soviets. Brown told TIME: "You have to compare this treaty not with some ideal treaty, but with what would happen if there were no treaty. SALT II will help our national security by limiting the Soviets to levels below those they could achieve if there were no treaty." One startling example: without SALT's limit of ten MIRVs per SS-18 ICBM, the Soviets would be able to mount up to 40 warheads on these monster missiles. This would give Moscow an advantage of thousands of warheads and almost certainly tilt the strategic balance in its favor.

Most experts agree with the Administration that the strategic arsenals of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are at the moment in "essential equivalence." Although the Soviets lead in some areas, such as in the number of ICBMs and the size and power of missiles, the U.S. is ahead in bombers, the number of atomic warheads, weapon accuracy and certain other aspects.

The U.S. side of this balance, argue SALT's advocates, will not be affected by the treaty. The overall ceiling of 2,250 nuclear delivery systems, for example, is actually 190 greater than the nation now deploys. The Soviets, however, will have to scrap about 320 systems. While they probably will do this by decommissioning aging ICBMs and perhaps some bombers, these are still devastatingly lethal weapons that would

have continued to be aimed at the U.S.

By limiting each side to one new type of ICBM, SALT II slightly brakes what has been the rapid pace of Soviet missile development. Again, this places no hardship on the U.S. The Pentagon will be able to develop and deploy the MX mobile missile, carrying six to eight MIRVs. As for the air-launched cruise missile, a highly accurate weapon that could become a major component of the U.S. nuclear deterrent, it is almost totally unaffected by SALT II. The only limit on the cruise is that planes carrying it are to be heavy bombers counted toward the MIRV sub-limit of 1,320.

The Administration will emphasize that SALT II will save money. Brown estimates that over the next decade, the treaty will enable the Pentagon to spend about \$30 billion less for strategic weapons than would be required without negotiated arms limits.

Former Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, now a Washington lawyer, sees SALT encouraging "a measure of mutual trust between the superpowers and as a precedent for cooperation on other issues." Although the Soviets very much want the SALT II agreement, there is, of course, no guarantee that the accord is linked to Soviet good behavior in other areas, just as defeating the accord should not be seen as a means of punishing Moscow. What seems indisputable, however, is that there would be enormous diplomatic fallout if the Senate rejects the treaty. U.S. ties with Moscow would suffer severely and there would be little chance, at least for a time, for superpower cooperation in other areas. With Brezhnev ailing and the Kremlin on the brink of changing leaders, it seems an especially poor time to chill U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations.

SALT's opponents inside the Senate are not as well organized as the backers, but have begun to mobilize. Tennessee's Baker could become the natural leader of the



John Glenn, Democrat of Ohio
I hope the President will not sign the agreement unless it is verifiable. If they go ahead and sign it and we still have doubts on verification, it is going to be very difficult to pass.

antitreaty forces if he decides to oppose the accord actively. Outspoken critics, such as Jackson, Goldwater and Utah Republican Jake Garn will be strongly backed by a number of militant right-wing organizations.

These groups have for months been readying newspaper ads, films and speakers to fight the treaty. The American Conservative Union will kick off its anti-SALT drive with a mass rally in Washington next month, to be followed by a grass roots postcard and phone call campaign. The A.C.U. has also put together a "truth



Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina
Countless things disturb me. It's very clear that the Russians have taken us to the cleaners. If this is the best the Administration can do, I suggest a SALT-free diet.

squad" of experts to refute the arguments of those Administration aides who will be promoting the accord.

Another conservative group, the American Security Council, has formed the Coalition for Peace Through Strength to serve as an umbrella for 166 separate antitreaty organizations. The coalition so far has recruited 194 Congressmen (mostly members of the House) and plans to set up 200 local chapters across the country. The first opened in Houston earlier this year. At American Security Council headquarters in Boston, Va., there is a bustle of new optimism. Said A.S.C. President John Fisher: "A few months ago, people were negative about the chances of defeating SALT. These same people are now ebullient about winning. There is a joy of battle."

One thing encouraging the treaty's critics is their feeling that the public has grown concerned because of signs that Moscow's goal may well be strategic superiority. Since the 1972 signing of SALT I, the Soviets have deployed four new types of ICBM, at least one new submarine-launched missile and the Backfire bomber. Another ICBM, submarine-launched missile and supersonic bomber are both under development.

The U.S., by contrast, has only modestly upgraded its weaponry. It has fin-

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Special Report

ished outfitting the Minuteman III with multiwarhead MIRVs and tested and canceled the B-1 supersonic bomber. Under development are an air-launched cruise missile, the Trident I and II submarine-launched missiles and the MX ICBM. Carter has admitted that he is worried by the Kremlin's military buildup. Said he last month: "What causes us concern is not the current balance, but the momentum of the Soviet strategic buildup." At some future point, the Soviet Union could achieve a strategic advantage—unless we alter these trends."

The trouble with SALT II, say its opponents, is that it does not reverse these trends and thus benefits the U.S.S.R. Warned Paul Nitze, once a member of the U.S. SALT negotiating team and now perhaps the treaty's most authoritative critic: "It isn't an equal treaty. Soviet programs are much more elaborate than ours at this stage and during the period of the accord. The Soviets thus are going to end up either equal or ahead of us in every measure of strategic strength."

SALT critics are especially dismayed by the Administration's failure to get Moscow to accept a reduction in the number of its huge SS-18s. By the early to mid-1980s, these Soviet missiles could all be MIRVed and their accuracy improved. Then the Soviets might be able to launch only a small fraction of their ICBMs to destroy as much as 90% of the U.S. Minuteman ICBMs inside their thick concrete silos. This advantage could be politically exploited by the Kremlin. Stated Frank Barnet, president of the hawkish National Strategy Information Center: "In some not too distant crisis, both U.S. will and the morale of our allies can be enervated by the Soviet Union's nuclear preponderance. Strategic imbalance creates a vector for the levers of diplomacy."

Even Secretary Brown concurs with part of this gloomy assessment. He said in a Manhattan speech last month: "If the Soviets ever were to achieve superi-



Alan Cranston, Democrat of California I'm pro the concept of SALT. It's a step toward restraint of nuclear war and ultimately less cost. I want to make sure it is a step away from the dangers of nuclear war.

ority, I am convinced they would make every effort to exploit it politically and even militarily." Brown stressed, however, that he was convinced that "by any reasonable standard, we have a credible deterrent today and will have one for the foreseeable future—even after an all-out surprise attack."

Verification is another issue raised by SALT's opponents, even though Carter and other top Administration officials insist that the U.S. will be able to check on Soviet compliance with the treaty. Critics continue to be worried about the loss of two U.S. intelligence bases in Iran, which electronically monitored Soviet missile tests. They argue that satellite surveillance cannot check on such crucial provisions of the treaty as the number of MIRVs the Soviets are actually placing on each ICBM and whether the Soviets are secretly stockpiling more missiles than allowed by the treaty's various ceilings. But Carter has stated: "We are confident that no significant violation of the treaty could take place without the U.S. detecting it."

The protocol section of SALT II is also under attack. Although its ban—on the flight testing of mobile ICBMs and on the deployment of land-and-sea-launched cruise missiles exceeding a range of 373 miles—expires at the end of 1981, SALT's opponents fear that these restrictions might become self-perpetuating. According to this argument, if a new round of arms talks is at a critical stage when the protocol lapses, Washington might decide that the SALT III process would be undermined unless the U.S. voluntarily continues to abide by the protocol's terms.

Though Western European countries are for SALT, U.S. ties with Britain and West Germany would almost certainly be strained by such an extension of the protocol. Reason: Washington would be prevented from cooperating with its allies in deploying the long-range land-and-sea-launched cruise missiles on which London and Bonn have been counting.

Rather than categorically rejecting SALT II, a number of critics have indicated that they would okay the pact if some of its provisions were changed. Senator Jackson told TIME: "What you will witness is a real effort by the Senate to improve the treaty through amendments and plugging loopholes. The Senate will take seriously its constitutional mandate not only to consent, but to advise as well."

Officially, White House staffers have been warning Senators that the treaty must pass without amendments because changing the document could force a re-opening of negotiations with Moscow. If that happens, the entire agreement could unravel. Informally, however, Administration aides concede that they may have to accept some modifications, while Soviet officials privately hint that they may be willing to agree to some amendments that serve a symbolic purpose but do not change the terms of the accord.

Both sides, pro and con, raise valid points in the SALT debate. What seems indisputable is that despite the arduous negotiations, the treaty is a rather modest arms control accomplishment. At best, it



Mark Hatfield, Republican of Oregon What we have is an illusion, an arms redirection rather than a limitation. Real weapons systems are exempted. I'd urge leapfrogging SALT II and going on to SALT III.

is a step toward what might be achieved in SALT III. But at the same time the treaty is a political instrument of consequence. Senate defeat of it could damage the world's perception of the U.S. Warned Carter last week: "We would be looked upon as a warmonger, not as a peace-loving nation." Sums up Gerard Smith, the chief U.S. negotiator during SALT I and now an ambassador-at-large: "Perhaps the most serious loss that the SALT rejection would entail would be the conclusion by our friends and antagonists abroad that the U.S. Government was incapable of conducting a coherent foreign policy. If the product of six years of negotiation is brought to naught, what would be the chances for success in other negotiations?" ■



Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia I am not ready to decide. Is the agreement equitable? Does it contribute to stability in crisis? Does it reduce the urge on both sides for a first strike? Finally, verification.

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World

BRITAIN

Maggie Gets A for Action

With zest and drive, the new Prime Minister sweeps into office

With zest, an unaccustomed light touch and the drive of a workaholic, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher swept grandly into office last week. The widely accepted grading of her initial high-speed performance: A for action.

No sooner was she installed at No. 10 Downing Street—after a couple of good nights' sleep to recover from the nonstop campaign and the tumult of the election—than Thatcher was on the move on several fronts at once. Before the week was out, she seemed to have gone far toward countering some of the misgivings about her inexperience, and allaying some of the fears about a national lurch to the right, at least too far to the right.

Summoning her balanced, surprisingly moderate 22-member Cabinet for its inaugural meeting, she delivered what her listeners regarded as a lively pep talk. With impressive confidence, her colleagues reported, she stressed the need of a measured return to more limited government and self-reliance.

She also announced two significant additions to her team; both, interestingly enough, have been successful retailers. David Wolfson, 43, a former director of the Great Universal Stores chain who had been secretary to the shadow cabinet, was installed as her personal chief of staff. Sir Derek Rayner, 53, joint managing director of Marks & Spencer, one of Thatcher's own favorite shopping haunts, was named chief waste cutter, as it were. His assignment is to cut fat and improve efficiency in the overgrown bureaucracy of Whitehall.

Belying her reputation as a combative iron lady, the new Prime Min-

ister was relaxed and gracious at her maiden appearance before the House of Commons. Taking her seat on the government front bench under the speaker's rostrum, she gently chided a Tory colleague for his reference to the "new boys" in the House. She drew more laughter with an anecdote about re-elected Speaker George Thomas; his noted propensity for hedging parliamentary questions, she said, was an inspiration to them all. After a subsequent Cabinet meeting and a series of asides with separate ministers, Thatcher worked long hours in her study

on the Queen's Speech. To be delivered at the official opening of the new Parliament early this week by Elizabeth II, in ermine robe and crown, the speech from the Throne is supposed to lay down the whole tone and framework of the new government's policies.

To meet another fast-approaching deadline, Thatcher huddled with her Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and his Treasury team over the new budget that is expected in mid-June. That will not only chart the government's plans for concrete economic policy, but will test the worth of Thatcher's hardest-hitting campaign promise: tax cuts. At the same time, she also tackled a range of other problem areas:

► Law-and-order received high priority with a government decree granting \$100 million in pay raises to the police, as promised by the Tories during the campaign. Another pledge, to raise armed forces' salaries to civilian levels, was fulfilled the next day.

► The trade unions, a potential source of trouble for any Tory government, especially this one, were given immediate attention, with a velvet glove. Last week 370,000 teachers continued their disruptive slowdown; postal workers threatened a possible walkout, and power workers were voting by mail on whether or not to accept a 9% pay offer already approved by their union bosses; a rejection could mean an early

Thatcher and Husband at 10 Downing Street; below, from left, Cabinet Members Norman St. John-Stevens, Sir Geoffrey Howe, John Nott, John Biffen, James Prior, Francis Pym



showdown with the government. Despite Thatcher's tough stand on the abuses of union power, her moderate Employment Secretary, James Prior, quickly convened back-to-back meetings with leaders of both labor and industry. In both cases, he stressed his own "softly, softly" approach. But in both cases, he was also warned that the next few months will be "hard going" on the labor front.

In foreign affairs, the Thatcher emphasis was on continuity rather than drastic change. The Prime Minister received two visiting heads of government without missing a beat. Ireland's Prime Minister Jack Lynch, in London on private business, came in for a half-hour tête-à-tête to sample her views on the chronic issue of British policy in Ulster. Although Helmut Schmidt had offered to postpone a meeting that had been scheduled for last week with her predecessor James Callaghan, Thatcher insisted upon winning and dining the West German Chancellor. She bluntly warned her guest that Britain would not be "a soft touch" for the European Community. Schmidt, who got along famously with "my good friend Jim," was asked at a press conference how he expected to do with Thatcher. "I have no doubt," he answered cheerfully, "that we shall get on rather fine."

Thatcher also started to prepare herself for an upcoming itinerary of international summits that would daunt an experienced statesman, not to mention a seldom-traveled novice. They include a round table of European leaders in Strasbourg following the European Parliament election on June 10; the Big Five economic summit with the U.S., West Germany, France and Japan in Tokyo a week later; and a potentially tension-laden Commonwealth Conference in Zambia in August, at which the Queen will preside.

While the spotlight logically was focused on the activist new Prime Minister, her defeated rival was consoled by his own moment of glory last week. With a ringing ovation for his enduring personal popularity, an assembly of Labor M.P.s re-elected Callaghan by acclamation as leader of the party.

Now 67, Callaghan is expected to step down some time within the year and retire to his Sussex farm. At that point, analysts believe, he will try to ensure the succession for his fellow moderate, former Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey, 61, over the other probable contender, Tony Benn, 53, chieftain of the party's militant left wing. But Callaghan also squelched any unsavory haste among aspiring successors by insisting that "there is no vacancy."

At week's end, Maggie Thatcher was still so busy that she had not found time to move her family from their Chelsea house to their new private quarters on the top floor of No. 10. In fact, there wasn't time to bake a cake for Husband Denis on his 64th birthday. ■



Thorpe and wife Marion leaving their London home for court appearance at Old Bailey

An Ordeal by Scandal

Jeremy Thorpe, facing possible life sentence, goes on trial

How say you, Thorpe, are you guilty or not guilty?" The clerk's loud, unemotional voice carried across the small, airless courtroom to the oak and glass-paneled dock. The tallest of the four defendants, a somber figure in a dark gray suit, stood uncertainly. When it came, the response was low and fatigued: "Not guilty." With that, former Liberal Party Leader Jeremy Thorpe, 50, once a rising star in British politics, last week went on trial in London's Old Bailey criminal court for conspiracy and incitement to murder.

What London's tabloid daily *Sun* unblushingly headlined as Britain's "trial of the century" had been postponed to allow Thorpe to run for re-election to the parliamentary seat he had held for 20 years. His North Devon constituency, however, turned him out with a humiliating 8,500-vote majority for a relatively unknown Tory candidate. Nationally, the Liberals slid from 14 to eleven seats. Analysts doubted that the Liberals' 1-million-vote loss was a direct result of the scandal. But Thorpe unhappily conceded that it was responsible at least for his own defeat: "It certainly hasn't been an assistance—that should be obvious to anybody!"

Thorpe and three erstwhile associates—former Liberal Party Deputy Treasurer David Holmes, 48, businessmen John Le Mesurier, 47, and George Deakin, 39—face possible life sentences on charges of plotting the murder of a former male model, Norman Scott, 39, in order to prevent him from publicly claiming that he had had a three-year homosexual liaison with Thorpe in the 1960s. Introduced into testimony last week, for example, were two letters Thorpe had written to Scott on House of Commons stationery; he called Scott by such endearments as "Bunnies."

and signed "Yours affectionately, Jeremy P.S. I miss you." The prosecution told the jury of nine men and three women that as Thorpe "climbed the political ladder, his anxiety [about Scott] became an obsession and his thoughts desperate." At Thorpe's instigation a former airline pilot, Andrew Newton, 31, was offered \$20,000 to carry out the killing. Thorpe, it was alleged in pretrial testimony, characterized the plan as not much worse than doing away with "a sick dog." In October 1975, Newton has admitted, he lured Scott to a lonely Devon moor and leveled a gun at him. But Newton apparently panicked and instead shot Scott's dog, a Great Dane named Rinka, then fled.

The trial judge, Sir Joseph Cantley, 68, rejected initial defense attempts to disqualify three prosecution witnesses who have signed contracts to sell their steamy stories to newsmen. He also warned the 69 attendant reporters: "No one must tamper with the witnesses. No interviews, nothing. Anybody who does will be punished. Better bring a toothbrush if you plan to do that."

Throughout the first week of the trial, which is expected to last up to three months, Thorpe sat morosely in his straight-back chair, glancing only occasionally at his wife Marion and his mother, a few feet away. Many of the spectators at "case 782002" who knew the jaunty Jeremy of the recent past were reminded of nothing so much as a sapped, wizened portrait of Dorian Gray. Not without sympathy, one wiggled barrister peered out the window at a throng of TV cameramen and photographers, who were dogging Thorpe's every entrance and exit. "Well, we're a sensationalist nation," he said, "but think of a poor blighter having to take 13 weeks of that." ■

World

MIDDLE EAST

Crackdown on the Palestinians

Israel takes a hard line on both terrorism and dissent

Southern Lebanon became a battlefield again last week as Israeli jets bombed the area day after day in an effort to destroy Palestinian commando bases. On Wednesday when a band of Palestinian guerrillas tried to cross the border and raid a kibbutz, the Israeli army was waiting. It intercepted the Palestinians, captured one guerrilla and chased the others back into Lebanon. Then, with the support of its Lebanese Christian allies under the command of Major Sa'ad Haddad, an Israeli force of at least 400 pushed four miles into Lebanese territory until it ran head-on into United Nations peace-keeping forces and was made to withdraw.

The Israelis continued their harass-

rael. Recent assaults have been particularly vicious; in fact, the rejectionist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine described last week's attempted attack on the kibbutz as a "suicide mission." As a result, the Israelis have apparently adopted a policy of pre-emptive strikes and hot pursuit. As Premier Menachem Begin told the Knesset, "We shall attack these murderers at every opportunity. We shall give them no rest."

During the height of the aerial bombardment, Begin said that Lebanese President Elias Sarkis was welcome to come to Jerusalem to negotiate peace with Israel. Begin also demanded that Syrian troops withdraw from Lebanon, and declared

gin's view the Israeli army should still be responsible for the security and public order of the West Bank and Gaza. Jews should be free to settle on the West Bank, and should be immune from rulings of the elected Palestinian administrative council. Israel would retain full control over state land, military areas, Jewish settlements and water resources.

The West Bank Palestinians are understandably furious over Begin's proposals. Anwar Nuseibeh, a former Jordanian Defense Minister who is now an attorney in East Jerusalem, argues that the plan calls for "a perpetuation of the present occupation without our consent." In the current bitterness, the forthcoming negotiations on Palestinian autonomy, to be attended by Egyptian, Israeli and American officials, are dismissed by virtually all West Bank Arabs as irrelevant.

Palestinian resentment has been heightened by a series of provocative acts committed by Israeli extremists. In mid-March, two Palestinians were shot and killed by Jewish settlers during a rock-throwing barrage near the town of Hebron. In late April, a group of Jewish women and children occupied a vacant building in Hebron that was once used as a Jewish hospital; their aim, they said, was to take over all buildings in the town that had ever been owned by Jews. After the Israeli Supreme Court ordered that a parcel of confiscated land be returned to Arab control, vandals destroyed Arab grapevines on the property. On May 2, Israel's independence day, thousands of supporters of the fanatical *Gush Emunim* movement marched through Arab villages to proclaim their right to settle wherever they wished in Judea and Samaria, the ancient biblical names for the West Bank.

These provocative acts embarrassed many Israelis. As one-time Foreign Minister Yigal Allon observed last week, "We must do what is necessary to maintain security, but settlers should not interfere in the security problems of the area." So far, the zealous settlers of the West Bank do not seem to have heard the message. ■ ■ ■



Israeli Premier Menachem Begin and Lebanese President Elias Sarkis

Risking everything to end a series of particularly vicious "suicide missions."

ment elsewhere, hitting the city of Tyre and Palestinian guerrilla locations around the Litani River. Most of the victims were not Palestinian terrorists but innocent people. In one incident, five Palestinian civilians were killed and 25 were wounded when the Israelis bombed a refugee camp at Al Mohmara, 60 miles north of Beirut, during a wedding ceremony. The dead were all members of the same family.

The whole exercise was disturbingly reminiscent of the Israeli incursion into southern Lebanon in March 1978. In that operation, which verged on prolonged occupation, more than 2,000 people were killed and 265,000 made homeless. What were the Israelis trying to prove this time? Evidently they were prepared to risk everything, perhaps even the peace treaty with Egypt, in an effort to compel the Palestinians to end their terrorist raids on Is-

rael. Recent assaults have been particularly vicious; in fact, the rejectionist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine described last week's attempted attack on the kibbutz as a "suicide mission." As a result, the Israelis have apparently adopted a policy of pre-emptive strikes and hot pursuit. As Premier Menachem Begin told the Knesset, "We shall attack these murderers at every opportunity. We shall give them no rest."

During the height of the aerial bombardment, Begin said that Lebanese President Elias Sarkis was welcome to come to Jerusalem to negotiate peace with Israel. Begin also demanded that Syrian troops withdraw from Lebanon, and declared

that such Arab states as Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq should admit Palestinian refugees now living in Lebanon. The Beirut government angrily declined the invitation, and Premier Selim Hoss dismissed the Begin offer as "blackmail." Lebanon needed the Syrians to maintain order, said Hoss, and in any case the matter was none of Israel's business. Ever ready with an inflammatory phrase, Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat vowed that the Palestinian struggle would continue "until we overrun Begin's offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem."

Begin's government is also adopting an increasingly hard line toward Arab residents of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza. They are overwhelmingly opposed to both the peace treaty and to Begin's proposals for the kind of limited "autonomy" he thinks the Palestinians of those regions should have. In Be-

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World

IRAN

A Nation Still in Torment

More executions as the conflict between left and right widens

Revolutionary Iran continued to be racked by vengeance and division last week. The wave of summary trials and executions spread to include two businessmen who had held no official positions in the Shah's regime. At the same time, the conflict between the ruling Islamic conservatives and the angry left grew wider, as government and religious leaders blamed the Communists for the assassination on May 1 of Morteza Motahari, a prominent Ayatullah and a member of the Revolutionary Council.

Last week's execution of 38 men brought to 204 the number of those condemned to death before firing squads. Among the latest victims were two former Ministers of Information, the last speaker of the lower house of parliament under the Shah, and a number of members of the notorious antiterrorist committee of SAVAK, the disbanded secret police, including a physician charged with specializing in torture techniques.

The two businessmen, both multimillionaires, were Habib Elghanian, a plastics manufacturer and the first Jew to be condemned, and Rahim Ali Khorram, a

Muslim who owned a string of gambling casinos and bordellos. Elghanian, who was convicted of spying for Israel, was said to have made huge investments in Israel and to have solicited funds for the Israeli army, which the prosecution claimed made him an accomplice "in murderous air raids against innocent Palestinians." Witnesses against Khorram charged that he supplied prostitutes for the Shah's officials, once fed a man to a lion in his amusement park, and kept a secret morgue for the bodies of his enemies.

The conviction of Elghanian caused concern among some Jewish businessmen in Iran, who feared that they too could be charged with contributing money to Israel. But most Jews did not believe that their community, which now numbers about 65,000, was being targeted for abuse. Muslim leaders, including Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, have repeatedly stressed that the rights of religious minorities would be protected. "We are uneasy," conceded a Jewish intellectual in Tehran, "but there is no room for panic." And a Jewish university student noted that former Premier Amir Abbas Hoveida, who was executed last month, was also accused of espionage for Israel—"and he was not a Jew."

In the aftermath of the terrorist assassinations by a group calling itself Forghan, few moderates were willing to speak out, for fear of being accused of aiding counterrevolutionaries. Premier Mehdi Bazargan cautioned against becoming "tyrants ourselves," but the public generally was still overwhelmingly in favor of the trials. "Let the Western press and the so-called human rights organizations howl on," voiced Radio Iran. "Their double standards fool nobody. The revolutionary tribunals have a bereaved nation to account to. They may not desecrate the sacred memory of tens of thousands of our martyrs by being lenient to these criminals."

Although twelve reputed members of Forghan are reported to have been arrested for the murders of Motahari and Major General Mohammed Vali Gharani, former army Chief of Staff, the government was releasing little information on the case. Leaflets left by the group tried to portray its members as devoted to "Islam without the clergy." But many observers, in fact, believe that the professionally carried-out assassinations were the work of former SAVAK agents bent on creating anarchy or of vengeance squads associated with former top officials who have been executed.

In any case, the regime was taking no chances. Khomeini announced that the revolutionary militias, known as the Guardians, would henceforth constitute a special armed force responsible only to the Revolutionary Council. The militias are expected to be a deterrent against further attempts on the leadership of the revolution—either from the left or from remnants of SAVAK. ■



Iranian students demonstrate in Beverly Hills

Afraid to Go Back Home

Most Iranian students in the U.S. are staying put

"**B**ye-bye, Shah!" shouted Iranian students as they hurled rocks and bottles at his sister's house in Beverly Hills last January. But now that they have got what they wanted and Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi has been driven from the Peacock Throne, most of the students are not any happier. Only a relative few are returning to the country for whose liberation they had protested so vociferously. Demonstrations have virtually ceased while the bewildered students anxiously wait, along with the rest of the world, to see what will happen next in their turbulent homeland. The uncertain Bazaar-gan government, at odds with Iran's revolutionary committees and subject to the Delphic dictates of the Ayatullah Khomeini, is not exactly what the youths had in mind when they called for a new regime.

Under the pro-American Shah, Iran had some 50,000 students on American campuses, by far the largest group of foreign students in the U.S. (the next biggest: the 14,000 Taiwanese). About 18,000 of them received some kind of Iranian government subsidy, and most were enrolled in engineering, business or science courses at Western, Southern or Southwestern universities. Some devout Muslim



Elghanian on trial in Tehran

Iranian Jews were not ready to panic

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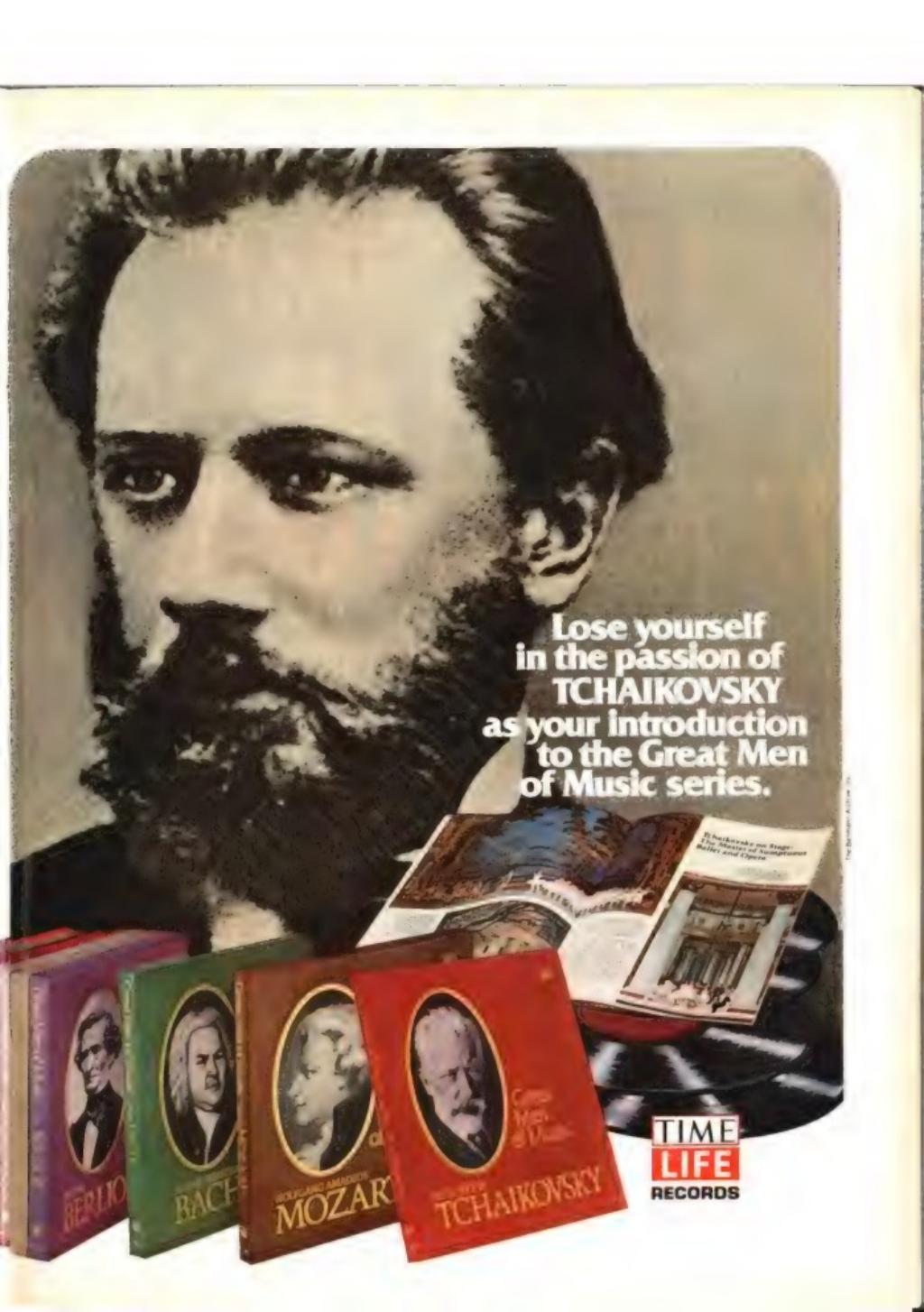


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World

students have returned home. Others are being lured back by various inducements, including the promise of relaxed admissions standards at Iranian universities. Explains Saeid Moeza, a junior in engineering at the University of Kansas: "For some students, it was like a gold rush. Some activists went home to get jobs with the government. Today a nobody can suddenly become someone. People nobody has heard of are Vice Premiers." A few leftist zealots are returning to bring the revolution to what they believe should be its proper Marxist conclusion. "This will be pure Marxism, not Marxism with Soviet overtones," insists a dental student at the University of Illinois. But disconcerting reports have come back that some of the Marxists have been given a cool welcome by the regime and are under surveillance.

Most students are showing prudence. At the University of Oklahoma, for example, about 20 of the 525 Iranian students have gone back. At the University of California at Berkeley, just one out of 156 has returned. Students with relatives who have been forced into exile or executed by the Khomeini government are obviously going to stay put. Others have been getting word from friends or relatives to keep their distance. An electrical engineering student at the University of Wisconsin describes his latest phone conversation with his father, who is still in Iran. "He seems afraid, like when the Shah was in power. He said, 'Don't go off over there.' That means don't say any bad things about Khomeini or you will be in trouble with the government when you come home."

For many disillusioned students, revolution has replaced one tyranny with another. A junior at the University of Southern California, Said Djabbari, 21, wanted to go back but now has misgivings. "The previous government wielded an iron fist in a velvet glove," he says. "This new regime doesn't give a damn about the glove." Adds a social science student at the University of Kansas: "The Ayatollah sounds exactly like the Shah. Previously, if I opposed the government, I was opposing the Shah. Now they tell me I'm opposing God..."

Students are also more inclined to remain in America because their financial difficulties have eased. During the height of the revolution, from early January to mid-March, their money from home was cut off. Now funds have started flowing again, from both private sources and the Iranian government. Some universities, however, are tightening admissions requirements for Iranian students unless they can prove they have sufficient financial resources.

Once a student winds up his studies in America, however, he faces a problem: it is not that easy to stay on. To obtain a permanent visa, students need some skill that is in short supply in the U.S. a require-

ment few can meet. The State Department is considering granting asylum to the pro-Shah students, who would be in peril if they went home. Others, without this protection, may follow the course of so many foreigners and slip into the shadowy world of illegal aliens. For all the drawbacks of that way of life, many students would doubtless prefer it to the risk of brutality and oppression in Iran. ■

EL SALVADOR

Mass Murder at The Cathedral

A protest turns into slaughter

The political chaos that has long been threatening El Salvador moved closer to anarchy last week. The incident that touched off the latest round of violence started out like a picnic. Packing lunches and carrying red balloons, 200 gaily dressed and boisterous demonstrators gathered outside the cathedral in downtown San Salvador, which had been occupied by 35 protesters since the first week in May. Other dissidents briefly seized the embassy of Costa Rica, while a third group took the French ambassador and his staff as hostages. All the protesters vowed to remain in place until El Salvador's military government released five leaders of a 30,000-member mass movement organization called the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (B.P.R.) who had been jailed in April.

The demonstrators at the cathedral soon received a brutal reply. Columns of heavily armed national police appeared in the square facing its main entrance. A captain blew his whistle and fired a rifle into the air. While protesters scrambled for cover, the police cut loose with au-

tomatic rifles, firing volley after volley into the crowd. When the shooting stopped, bodies were lying everywhere on the steps of the cathedral. For six hours, the police refused to let Red Cross workers tend the wounded. By the time they were admitted into the cathedral, 23 persons were dead or dying.

A government spokesman claimed that the shooting had been in retaliation for an assault with an automatic weapon on a passing truck. Authorities reported that one policeman had been fatally wounded in that attack. None of the foreign reporters present at the cathedral, however, saw any such incident.

The next day, 20,000 angry mourners attended a funeral for 17 of the victims. They marched through the streets chanting, "The people will not fall before tanks or machine guns." Other groups reacted more violently. On the day of the funeral, guerrillas of the Popular Liberation Forces, one of the three terrorist groups now active in the country, attacked and burned buses in the town of Tecoluca; three persons were killed.

Though the government freed two of the B.P.R. leaders whose release had been demanded by the protesters, demonstrators at the French embassy would not release their captives, and the occupiers of the cathedral had not budged. Hard-liners continued to pressure El Salvador's President, General Carlos Humberto Romero, to crack down even more forcefully on the dissidents. For El Salvador, one of the Western Hemisphere's most densely populated (531 people per sq mi.) and most turbulent nations, no end of violence was in sight. Indeed, at week's end four B.P.R. sympathizers were slain by police and nine members of the group occupied the Venezuelan mission, taking Ambassador Santiago Ochoa and several aides as hostages. Said one of the captors: "We will stay here until the government releases all our imprisoned leaders." ■



Protesters in San Salvador diving for cover after police opened fire
A picnic turned into a massacre, and more violence lies ahead.

Economy & Business

New Thrust in Antitrust

Sheer size becomes a target as tough new bills are pressed on Capitol Hill

"Antitrust is one of the battle-fields upon which the future of capitalism is being fought out."

—Former Solicitor General
Robert Bork, at last week's
TIME conference.

The 1970s have hardly been a happy time for the American Captain of Industry. Pressed hard by environmentalists, consumer activists and Government regulators, he is now coming under fresh attack from trustbusters in the Justice Department, the Federal Trade Commission and the Congress. All are considering ways to expand and toughen the nation's 90-year-old antitrust laws. The new activism, besides making lawyers rich and executives apprehensive, is raising some of the most fundamental questions about the social and political power and the function of U.S. corporations. The basic themes are as old as the debate between Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians, and as new as today's arguments in Congress over a number of proposed antitrust bills.

Is bigness badness? Is the function of antitrust to enhance economic efficiency or to ensure the dispersal of economic power into many hands? Is antitrust becoming, as its critics charge, a hodgepodge of half-baked economic theories and pop sociology that threatens the future of freedom? Or is it becoming, as its champions insist, an ever more important and effective guarantor of that freedom? Seeking answers, Time Inc. last week brought 59 leading corporate officers and economists to Washington for a conference on antitrust. For two days, they heard from and asked questions of 19 speakers, including Government officials, lawyers, law professors, economists and businessmen.

The meeting occurred just as antitrust was being pushed beyond its old boundaries on Capitol Hill and in the courts. Last week the Senate Judiciary Committee approved the so-called Illinois Brick Bill by a 9-to-8 vote, led by Chairman Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. Prospects for passage in the full Senate and



Thomas Nast cartoon blasts monopolies in 1889

House are doubtful, but, if enacted, the bill would overturn a 1977 Supreme Court decision. Not only could middlemen and retailers sue and collect treble damages from a company for antitrust violations, but so too could individual consumers who join together in class actions. Businessmen fear that the bill would engulf many companies in harassment suits. Often, such suits amount to little more than blackmail: plaintiffs know that companies would rather agree to an expensive out-of-court settlement than endure years of costly litigation.

Many businessmen are already mired in time-consuming antitrust cases. The

Justice Department is pressing monumental cases to break up IBM and AT&T, and the FTC is doing the same in a suit against Exxon and seven other oil companies. It is unlikely that the FTC suit will come to trial much before the 21st century, by which time the Government expects oil to play a diminishing role in the nation's economy.

For now, antitrust largely involves traditional questions, such as whether a company conspired to fix prices, divide up markets or drive a weak competitor out of business. A commission appointed by President Carter to review antitrust laws and procedures earlier this year recommended that the standards of proof be relaxed in favor of the Government.

More significantly, a new bill, sponsored by Senator Kennedy and Ohio Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum, goes much further and asserts that the mere size of a corporation can tend to give it undue power over countless markets. In short, bigness is badness.

Kennedy-Metzenbaum would categorically block takeovers or mergers between companies that have either assets or annual sales of more than \$2 billion, a group that includes some 150 of the top U.S. industrial firms. The bill would also stop takeovers by these firms of the hundreds of additional companies around the country that have \$350 million or more in assets or sales.

The mergers and takeovers would be prevented unless management could prove that joining together would improve competition or operating efficiency. That is something that businessmen say would be exceedingly difficult to show since the hoped-for benefits might not be expected to occur for years. If such proof were not possible, the deal could still go through if the acquiring company agreed to spin off a subsidiary, division or some other large asset so that the parent firm would be no larger than it was before the breakup. The bill is strongly opposed by the business community and is unlikely to be reported out of committee this year.

Still, Robert Bork, now a Yale law

Time Inc. Conference on Antitrust Participants: RICHARD E. BAIRD, president, chief executive officer, Occidental Petroleum Corporation; JOHN R. BECKETT, chairman, president, chief executive officer, Transamerica Corp.; MICHAEL J. BLADY, chairman, chief executive officer, Dallas, Read & Co.; THOMAS W. BRETT, senior vice president, Oversee-Coming Fiberglas Corporation; SAMUEL B. CASEY JR., chairman of the board, Pollman Incorporated; LILLWOOD E. CURTIS, vice chairman, Deere & Company; JAMES W. DAVANT, chairman, chief executive officer, Paule Weber Incorporated; CHARLES J. DIBONA, president, American Petroleum lessee; MICHAEL D. DINGMAN, chairman, president, Wheelbarrow-Frye Inc.; ALFRED P. DOTTEL, executive vice president, The Parkers Pen Company; CHARLES J. DONNELLY, vice chairman, chief administrative officer, The Borden Corporation; WILLIAM C. DOUCE, president, chief operating officer, Phillips Petroleum Company; RICHARD D. FERGUSON, chairman, president, American International Biscuit/McCormick; JOHN A. ELLIOTT, director, Beach Aircraft Corporation; JAMES L. FERGUSON, chairman, chief executive officer, Gittens Food Corporation; JOHN T. FEY, chairman of the board, The Taggart Life Assurance Society of the United States; RICHARD J. GOEGELEN, executive vice president, Holiday Inns Inc.; JAMES C. GOODALE, executive vice president, The New York Times Company; JOHN D. GRAY, chairman

TIME, MAY 21, 1979



PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT M. STONE

Top from left: Hatch, Pertschuk, Javits;
second row: Yale's Bork, Arco's Bradshaw;
third row: Rep. Seiberling, Economist Adams;
below: Merger Expert Rorhatyn

be banned because "they increase their power at the expense of smaller and less organized groups, and of the individual." In Pertschuk's view, the danger is all the greater because of the difficulty in measuring the consequences of the steady concentration of power.

On the other side, speakers argued that the Government's concern ought not to be bigness per se, but whether corporate giants are efficient and whether competition flourishes in their industries. U.C.L.A. Economist Harold Demsetz said that despite the rise of conglomerates, there has not been much change in market concentration in 70 years, "and those increases in concentration that have occurred have been associated with lower prices and increases in efficiency." Yale Economist Paul MacAvoy reported that his own research shows that conglomerate mergers do not produce more concentration in specific markets but do tend to produce gains in efficiency.

Disagreeing with Demsetz and MacAvoy, Economist Willard Mueller of the University of Wisconsin claimed that corporations have indeed increased their size and power because "the percentage of all U.S. manufacturing assets held by the nation's 200 largest industrial corporations has risen from about 48% in 1950 to over 60% today." In fact, big companies have not increased their shares of individual markets but, as conglomerates, have grown larger and larger in the economy as a whole. In the past two decades, multinational companies have also grown, and the growth of their overseas activities has helped to make Big Business seem bigger than ever.

Mueller, like Pertschuk, was also concerned because the impact of big mergers is difficult to measure and may not become clear until after competition has been badly damaged. As companies expand by merger, their muscle may scare

professor, contended that Kennedy-Metzenbaum is symptomatic of a new anti-bigness mentality in the highest reaches of Government. Though most conference participants felt that large companies compete as ferociously and fairly as small firms, they were told by Economist Walter Adams of Michigan State University that antitrust has political as well as economic elements. Said he: "The objective of antitrust is not to promote efficiency and consumer welfare. These are only ancillary benefits that are expected to flow from economic freedom. The primary purpose of antitrust is to perpetuate and preserve, in spite of possible cost, a system of governance for a competitive free-enterprise system."

Thus the panelists often found themselves debating a basic political and philosophical issue: Do the economic benefits of large size and efficiency outweigh the political risks of allowing power to be gathered in relatively few hands?

The issue has intensified because of the rise of conglomerate mergers between companies in completely unrelated fields. In defending his bill, Senator Kennedy points out that such linkups accounted for only 38% of all mergers in 1950 but have risen to nearly 90% since then. He calculates that the amounts paid to acquire firms in these deals jumped from \$12 billion in 1975 to \$34 billion last year.

Like a latter-day Jeffersonian, Federal Trade Chairman Michael Pertschuk argued that large conglomerates should



Economy & Business

off smaller competitors. In the words of Walter Adams, the conglomerate giants have the resources to support money-losing operations for long periods; they can simply "outbid, outspend and outlast" small rivals, creating a kind of economic Darwinism.

But there is simply no hard evidence to support this concern. New York Attorney Ira Millstein, co-founder of the Columbia University Center for Law and Economic Studies, observed: "There are feelings about large mergers; there are emotions about large mergers. There is a suspicion about size and its relationship to the power and politics of society. But there is an almost total lack of responsible research in the area."

To most participants, the real question was: If no one can prove that bigness is bad, then why ban it? To Irving Shapiro, chairman of E.I. du Pont de Nemours, the concept amounted to "no fault antitrust." In other words, it penalized companies simply for being more successful than their competitors.

Some mergers enhance competition. Oil would seem an unlikely industry for this to occur in. But Thornton Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield, argued that the acquisition in 1966 by the Atlantic Refining Co. of the Richfield Oil Corp. turned two so-so firms into a company strong enough to compete against the industry giants. Yet Bradshaw noted that his powers, like those of every high corporate executive, are severely limited: "Every decision made at my desk is influenced by some and sometimes most of the following environmentalists, consumers, tax reformers, antinuclear protesters, the constraints of Government, the DOE (Department of Energy), the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency), ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission), the FTC, the state governments, the municipal governments, the effect on inflation, on labor union attitudes, and on the OPEC cartel."

Since both the extent and the effects of industrial concentration are uncertain, most speakers favored a go-slow policy to sort out the facts before trying to enact new antitrust legislation. Said Du Pont's Shapiro: "In view of our domestic economic needs and our international competitive problems, we would do well not to go off on major, and perhaps irreversible, social experiments until there are convincing reasons to do so."

In foreign trade particularly, the U.S. is already suffering from its restrictive antitrust laws, which hold American companies to tougher standards overseas than competing foreign firms must meet. Kennedy-Metzenbaum would aggravate the

problem. Though big U.S. companies would be stopped from buying up others at home, foreign investors would be allowed to come in and continue acquiring almost as much as they want. Said Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, a Judiciary Committee member who has fought hard against the bill: "We are at a time in our history when we should be doing all in our power to make it easier, not harder, for our corporations to compete on an international basis." Senator Jacob Javits of New York, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, argued that the U.S. should not force American companies do-

easier for the Government to prove its antitrust cases. But, he contended, "the burden of proof should rest with the Michael Perchs of this world." The FTC is already empowered to act as both the prosecutor and judge in antitrust cases, and Senator Hatch is drafting legislation to transfer the judge's role back to the courts.

Several panel members also faulted Kennedy-Metzenbaum for setting arbitrary limits on the size of companies that are allowed to merge. So long as inflation continues, the number of companies that have \$2 billion in sales or assets will grow fast, and yet each firm will have a smaller share of the nation's markets than at present. Meanwhile, the new activism in antitrust would concentrate more and more power in the Justice Department's and FTC's enforcement bureaus. Assistant Attorney General John Shenefield, the antitrust chief, told the group that the public has concluded, though reluctantly, that Big Government is a necessary counterweight to Big Business. If businesses continue to concentrate and grow larger, warned Ohio Democratic Congressman John F. Seiberling, the public will increasingly demand that they be nationalized. His point: it is in business's own self-interest to support the bill.

Nationalization hardly seems an immediate threat to U.S. business. At a time when the U.S. is struggling to curb inflation, create jobs and sharpen its competitiveness in world markets, the purpose of antitrust policy should be to enhance efficiency. Most conference participants felt that a further tightening of antitrust policy might promote inefficiency by immunizing some big slow-moving companies from takeovers and protecting inept managers from being tossed out. Kennedy-Metzenbaum, remarked Rohatyn, "could be called the Large and Inefficient Business Protection Bill." The way to reduce conglomerate mergers, he added, is to improve economic policy. Bringing down inflation would lead to lower interest rates and higher stock prices. Companies then would no longer have the opportunity to buy out firms at fire-sale prices. Meanwhile, corporations would have more incentive to expand on their own by investing in new plants and machines. The combination of those factors, said Rohatyn, would reduce the number of mergers by 75%.

What most people at the conference agreed upon was that the debate over antitrust will continue and intensify—unsettled, and unsettling to the nation. Yet if so much is uncertain, perhaps the U.S. should be cautious about enacting new laws. In short: If you don't know, go slow.

SOURCE: WILLIAM M. NEFTZGER, JR., vice-president, consumer, The Chesapeake Corporation of Virginia; BERT L. PHILLIPS, president, Clark Equipment Company; JOHN POST, executive director, The Business Roundtable; WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS, former vice-president, law & corporate affairs, Wegmans Food Markets; ROBERT F. SEIBERLING, chairman and chief executive officer, National Gypsum Company; FRED RISTEN SHUMWAY, president, chief executive officer, The Sunbeam Companies Inc.; WILLIS S. SLUBER, director, The Reebok Group of Companies; WARD SMITH, president, The Borden Group of Companies; RICHARD L. THOMAS, chairman, chief executive officer, The Harsco Corporation; WILLIAM SWINDELLS, JR., managing vice-president, Wisconsin Industries, Inc.; O. PENDLETON THOMAS, chairman, chief executive officer, The BF Goodrich Company; RICHARD L. THOMAS, president, The First National Bank of Chicago; JOHN T. TOWNSHEND, chairman, chief executive officer, Planning Research Corporation; J.H. NYQUIST & VAN DER KEMP, chairman, chief executive officer, Container Corporation of America; J. HARLES J. WAHLICH, president, Cities Service Company; DAVID B. WATERS, chairman, president, Gurleylink; Boston Brothers Miles & Rhoads Inc.; JAMES W. WILCOX, chairman, president, May Manufacturing Company; JOHN D. WHITING, president, Warner-Lambert Company.

"The Case of the Century"

On the last working day of the Johnson Administration in January 1969, the Justice Department filed suit against International Business Machines, accusing it of monopolizing the "general purpose" computer business. Specifically, IBM was charged with trying to force customers to buy entire IBM systems for commercial use, and with keeping competitors out of the market. A decade later *U.S. vs. IBM* is still dragging on, a costly monument to the law's delay. The frustrating case, Yale Professor Robert Bork told TIME's conference, is the antitrust division's "Viet Nam." Thomas Barr, the Cravath, Swaine & Moore attorney who is leading the IBM defense, explained at the meeting why he sees no light at the end of the tunnel.

For three years after its complaint was filed, Barr recounted, the Government did almost nothing. Pretrial "discovery," which allows lawyers to search for facts and find out what evidence the other side plans to use, did not begin until 1972. For the next two years, each side deluged the other with paper, 30 million pages worth. After several delays, the trial began in 1975 in U.S. District Court in Manhattan. It took the Government almost three years to present its case; one witness alone testified for 78 days.

Yet, Barr said, the case is now "almost dead in the water." Reason: the Government insisted on yet another round of discovery starting last year. Federal attorneys began deposing IBM witnesses again and requesting even more documents. Queried by TIME, the Government's chief lawyer in the case, Robert Staal, insisted that in order to cross-examine IBM's witnesses, the Government needs to know what IBM has been doing in the computer industry since 1974, when the first round of discovery ended. But Barr contended that since the case started, the Government has brought in a whole new team of lawyers, who had to educate themselves. Scoffed Barr: "This is a continuous reinvention of the wheel."

The case has also been a man-eater for IBM and its law firm. In order to recruit top law school graduates, Cravath has constantly had to boost starting salaries (this year: at least \$30,000); the grads fear becoming stuck on the IBM case, which is widely seen as a black hole for fledgling legal careers. Those who are assigned to the case get up to \$5,000 extra combat pay annually.

Assistant Attorney General John Shenefield has repeatedly told Congress that his antitrust division is trying to speed the case. But it is difficult to see how. This winter, Barr recounted, the Government subpoenaed IBM Chairman Frank Cary to produce virtually every document relating to computers accumulated by the company since 1973. That amounts to 5 billion pieces of paper, said Barr, who claims that to comply would take 100 lawyers 620 years working full time. Staal, however, called Barr's figures "grossly exaggerated" and contended that the parties could easily work out a compromise, but that IBM refuses to negotiate.

John Diebold, the noted computer consultant, who was asked by IBM to be a witness, gave the TIME conference "a peasant's view of what it is like to have the Justice Depart-

ment's B-52s drop napalm on me." First, at Government request, he turned over 300,000 pages of documents from his company, the Diebold Group, relating to the computer industry. Said Diebold: "That is a minor ripple in the ocean of paper that has been delivered by IBM, but I wasn't even a party to the case!" Then he was tied up full time for two months giving depositions to the Government. Diebold was asked not only about the fees IBM paid his firm but about his personal net worth. Finally, Diebold reported, the Justice Department lawyers told him to produce more than 1,000 lengthy and confidential reports that Diebold's consulting company had made for its clients, including some plans for IBM's competitors to compete with IBM.

At that point, Diebold withdrew as a witness rather than disclose reports to clients "of things genuinely unconnected with the case for the sake of a fishing expedition on the part of the Justice Department." As he told the TIME conference: "Gradually, I realized that the Government lawyers don't understand what they're doing." For example, according to the Government's definition of the "general purpose" computer market, there were only eight competitors in 1969, said Diebold. "Since that date, we have clocked something on the

order of 300 new players in the game—Japanese, French, American. During that time, has the Government changed its definition of the industry? Indeed they have. Today they no longer maintain there are eight competitors; today they say there are four. Yet the reality is that there is very wide-scale competition in that industry, ease of entry and rapidly declining costs to customers."

Staal, who says Diebold dropped out rather than produce more evidence damaging to IBM's case, responds that the other companies do not make general purpose computers; they manufacture smaller or specialized computers or parts.

But change in technology and the computer market is a major obstacle to the Government's case. None of the IBM computer systems that were on the market when the Govern-

ment filed suit are still being made by the company. The trustbusters claim that the same pattern of IBM monopoly persists, but they must constantly seek new facts to prove it. The Government has never spelled out just how it wants to break up IBM to foster competition. Any "relief" that the court eventually may grant must be based on up-to-date information. So last January—ironically on the tenth anniversary of the case—the Government made yet another discovery request for current information and IBM's plans for the future. IBM is resisting; it argues that this third round of discovery would bare its trade secrets and further delay the trial.

IBM has also been sued 20 times on antitrust charges by private companies since 1969. So far, none of the plaintiffs has won, though many cases are on appeal or still pending. None of the private cases got bogged down during trial like *U.S. vs. IBM*. If that case is ever definitely resolved, it could be a legal landmark. Not only might it dismantle the seventh biggest U.S. industrial corporation, but it might also set new limits on the way that big companies grow internally. The IBM case is already "the case of the century," says Barr. The problem, he adds, is that it may also become the case of the 21st century.



Paper war: IBM's "trial support library" in Manhattan



On the dais in Detroit: the chairman flanked by Philip Caldwell (left), Vice President Henry R. Nolte Jr. and William Clay Ford

End of an Era at Ford

Bravos and battles at Henry II's last annual meeting

"Next year, you'll find me in the audience." So said a smiling Henry Ford II last week at the annual meeting of the huge auto empire attended by 2,850 Ford Motor Co. stockholders in Detroit's jampacked Henry and Edsel Ford Auditorium. As expected, Ford, 61, said that as of Oct. 1 he would step down as chief executive of the world's second largest auto company, which last year had sales of \$43 billion. His successor, he added, would be the company's president, Philip Caldwell, 59, the first non-Ford ever to

open it to question, since he also declared last week that he will remain the company's board chairman for an "indeterminate" period.

Doubtless Ford does not want to step down entirely until he has resolved the legal and family tangles that have swirled up around him. The sometimes raucous annual meeting brought together most of the chief protagonists in these dramas. There was, for instance, Henry's rebellious nephew Benson Ford, 29, who was in Detroit not only for the meeting but also to push a lawsuit that is part of his fight to elbow his way onto the Ford board. Also present was Henry's only son Edsel, 30, who is assistant managing director of the company's Australian operation and the only member of the younger generation of Fords now being groomed for an important role in the firm.

In what has become something of a Ford tradition, the meeting had its full quotient of melodrama and mania. A woman stockholder fainted at the microphone after nominating Benson for the board. Professional Board Baiter Evelyn Davis, who came in a red plastic fire hat, dismissed the many present and former Ford employees in the audience as "stooges." Through it all, Henry remained the star. He was frequently applauded by Ford loyalists who had come to see the chairman preside at his last such gathering.

Others also came expecting fireworks from Ford's chief legal antagonist, Manhattan Lawyer Roy Cohn. For a year he has been pressing a suit filed on behalf of a handful of stockholders that charges Henry with a series of misdeeds, including accepting bribes. A New York court threw out Cohn's suit in January on grounds that it should have been filed in Michigan, where Ford is headquartered. Cohn is appealing, but plans to pursue the case in Michigan if necessary.



Nephew Benson Ford Jr.

No passport to the top.

hold the top job in 70 years.

If Henry means what he says about his role's becoming "completely nonexecutive," one of the nation's last family-dominated corporate giants will be entering a new period in which its future course will be steered by professional managers. Caldwell, a reticent Harvard Business School graduate, joined the company in 1953. Like many of the company's top executives, he came up through Ford's European operations. But just how much power Ford intends to give up remains

Though he was somewhat more subdued than at last year's meeting, where he harangued Ford for more than an hour, Cohn was again on the attack. He asserted that an internal company audit found that Henry had lied when he said he never used Ford Motor funds to pay personal expenses. Cohn charged that when Henry was ordered to repay \$34,585 that the company had spent to maintain an elegant Manhattan hotel suite, "he increased his salary by \$45,000 to more than \$1 million annually" to recoup his loss.

Cohn also rapped the chairman for firing Lee Iacocca, noting that a number of former key Ford executives followed the deposed president to Chrysler. Ignoring the fact that Ford had a robust first quarter, in which earnings rose 28% to record \$595 million, while Chrysler has been suffering sharp losses, Cohn asserted that the Ford men who followed Iacocca were "leaving a loser and joining a winner." To that Ford snapped: "You put your money in Chrysler and go to their meetings, O.K.?"

Ford also had some zingers for his nephew Ben. A week before, a committee composed of Ford and the company's nine outside directors had turned down his request to take the board seat held by his father, Benson Sr., who died last July. But Ben, who

Attorney Cohn with poster that greeted him on arrival



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But as your tastes have changed, you may have found yourself reaching for a cigarette even lower in tar. An ultra-low tar alternative that satisfies your new tastes in smoking.

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Now has only 2 mg tar. And bear this in mind: today's Now has the most satisfying taste in any cigarette so low in tar.



Only 2 mg tar. Significantly lower than 98% of all cigarettes sold.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

FILTER, MENTHOL: 2 mg. "tar", .2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Economy & Business

owns about \$16 million worth of Ford stock, announced at the meeting that he still deserved a seat. Said he: "I do not intend to fade away." Asked by a stockholder why Ben was not given a seat, Ford barked, to loud applause: "Not qualified."

Ben has enlisted Cohn to represent him in a \$2 million federal civil suit against Ford Estates, a company that manages the personal funds of members of the Ford family. He charges that the firm withheld vital information from him and failed to give him a just share of his father's estate. The suit promises to be bitter: the Ford family has hired Criminal Lawyer Edward Bennett Williams to defend its interests.

Under the will's terms Ben gets slightly more than 1% of the company's key Class B voting stock, worth about \$7 million. But the stock was put into a trust of which Benson's mother is the sole trustee. She is obligated to name another trustee before she dies, or control passes first to Henry and then to his brother William Clay Ford, a member of the company's board. Through a complex arrangement, the B stock, the vast majority of which is controlled by the Ford family, permanently accounts for 40% of the total stockholder vote. Benson already owns some 2.2% and will receive another 1.8% next fall when he turns 30.

During last week's court hearings, Ben's squadron of lawyers from Detroit and California contended that his father had intended that he be a board member. But, says Benson, his father had changed his will in 1975 under heavy pressure from family lawyers. Benson Sr. was in no condition to resist, says the young heir, because he had become an alcoholic who drank "up to a fifth of liquor a day," and was further addled by drugs he took for his heart condition. Ben claims that family lawyers misinformed him about his rights and that the rest of his relatives conspired to keep him out of the business because they disapproved of his unconventional life-style in California, where he has dabbled in several shaky business ventures and has had brushes with the law for drug possession.

Despite his contentions to the contrary, there is little evidence that Ben took much interest in the company until his father's death; in marked contrast to his cousin Edsel, he has never held a full-time job with Ford. Ben has said he would join a management training program but has twice postponed the move. Still, he believes that with control of enough voting stock he can force his way onto the board. Uncle Henry disagrees. Says he: "There are no crown princes at the Ford Motor Company and there is no privileged route to the top." Still, speculation persists that Henry would like nothing better than to see his son Edsel move into the Ford driver's seat some day. And, as Henry well knows, there is rarely room for two at the top. ■



Treasury Secretary Blumenthal

"Out of Ideas"

Candor on prices and policy

Despite a broad consensus among non-Government economists that prices will rise by at least 8% this year, Jimmy Carter and his chief aides have insisted that the inflation rate could be held to 7.4%. Now one Administration member has dared to discuss reality out loud. Testifying before the Senate appropriations subcommittee, Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal said that the rate of price rises in 1979 will be "at least 8% to 8.5%" and maybe "slightly higher."

Blumenthal's forecast was not gloomy. Late in the week, the Business Council, a group of high-powered corporate chiefs, issued a prediction of a 9.5% inflation rate for the year, along with a "pronounced, although mild recession." But the Treasury Secretary's candor raised hackles at the White House, which is sticking with its inflation forecast despite much evidence that it is overly opti-

istic. During the first quarter the annualized rate hit a scary 13%. The Treasury chief's frankness will surely increase resistance to the "voluntary" wage-price guidelines among both labor and business.

The Administration has been critical of business, which it claims has been widely flouting the price standards. As evidence, Government inflation fighters point to the explosive increase in corporate profits in the first quarter. One result: the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) has been intensifying its pressure on business. Two weeks ago, it strong-armed Sears Roebuck and Co. into rolling back its catalogue prices by 5%, and last week Giant Food Inc., the Washington, D.C.-based supermarket chain, agreed under Government pressure to reduce prices on a number of items. Following up on a longstanding threat, COWPS also released the name of a company it considered a major price offender: Denver-based Ideal Basic Industries Inc., one of the nation's largest cementmakers.

Labor unions, for their part, seem even less disposed to hold increases in their wages and benefits to the guideline ceiling of 7% a year, which is below the officially predicted inflation rate. The immediate threat to the wage standards is the demand of the United Rubber Workers, who are seeking an estimated 40% increase in pay and benefits over the next three years. Last week, failing to reach agreement with Uniroyal, Inc., rubber workers struck the company's unionized plants. Uniroyal negotiators complain that they are "being hammered by the Government" to hold the 7% line.

The guideline policy has probably held pay increases to levels below what they might have been. Thus the Administration shows every indication of sticking with the program longer. In any event the White House seems to have little choice. As COWPS Director Barry Bosworth admits: "We seem to have run out of ideas." ■



Striking rubber workers picketing Uniroyal's tire plant in Detroit last week

Employees hit by inflation, management "hammered by the Government."

Economy & Business



Students happily hoisting steins of lager during a festival in the city of Coburg

Trouble Brewing

Less fizz in German beer

West Germans remain champion makers and drinkers of beer. Their 1,490 breweries, large and small, turn out 6,000 varieties of the beverage that they extol as "liquid bread" and that is still prescribed by some of their physicians as the best remedy for tension and insomnia. Now, however, the beermakers themselves are losing sleep. Having grown steadily for 30 years, the German thirst for lager is receding. Last year the average amount consumed by each of the nation's 61 million men, women and children was "only" 38 gallons. While that would be an astonishing level in most other countries,* it was actually off from the 1976 peak of 40 gallons. Even more upsetting, coffee has replaced beer as the country's No. 1 beverage.

Beer consumption is off for several reasons, including the sobering effect of tough laws aimed at curbing drunken driving, as well as the slowdown in the German economy that has forced 500,000 beer-loving "guest workers" from Turkey and other countries to return home. Germans are also increasingly preoccupied with physical fitness, and the full belly that was once regarded as a sign of a healthy, jovial temperament is now seen as a sign of excess.

The effects on the long complacent beer industry and its 75,000 employees have been traumatic. Over the past two years, breweries have been closing at a rate of one a week, and forecasts are that eventually only 800 will remain open. Content in the past to let their beer sell itself, some German brewers have now begun to advertise. Duisburg-based König-Brauerei, for example, has a campaign that uses such luminaries as actress Maria Schell and Moneyman Her-

mann Abs, former board chairman of the Deutsche Bank, who are, the ads note, "loyal to the king."

At 50¢ a half-liter bottle, beer in West Germany is priced 25% lower than mineral water or fruit juice. Still, several big brewers have been selling beer at a loss in selected markets, only to find that many Germans regard inexpensive beer as, well, cheap. Despite the interest in fitness, the light *Dürer* beers some brewers have introduced have flopped. Germans do not like their beer to be as robust as they used to; brands with alcohol content close to 6% are fading, and the typical beer is now 4.2% alcohol, but even those brews are more potent than the lighter U.S. beers, which are generally 3.6% alcohol.

Beer is one industry in which Germans have long prized small size. In contrast to the U.S., where the beer business is increasingly being taken over by a few large firms, led by Anheuser-Busch and Miller, the German industry is made up of many small breweries, some of which serve only a few *Wirtshäuser* (pubs) in their area. The largest German firm, Dortmunder Union-Schultheiss, accounts for only 10% of the country's production.

Dutch brewers, led by Heineken, became the top beer exporters in the mid-1970s after the Germans found themselves squeezed out of foreign markets by rising costs and the climbing value of the deutsche mark. Löwenbräu, which once

exported a third of its production, stopped shipping to the U.S. last year; a version of the original Löwenbräu is now brewed and marketed in the U.S. by Miller. But over the past three years sales of foreign beers in the U.S. have doubled. Though Heineken now commands close to 45% of this booming market, some German brewers see ample room for them too.

Würzburger Hofbräu has begun shipping beer in bulk to Anheuser-Busch, which is bottling it for test marketing in Boston, Hartford, and Atlanta. If the tests prove promising, the beer will go into national distribution. For at least some German brewers, that should help reduce tension and cut down on those sleepless nights.

Hot Notion

A new use for computers

Driven by bottom-line imperatives, U.S. companies have been notably inventive in cutting energy bills. One of the more intriguing ideas now comes from INSCO Systems of Neptune, N.J., a smallish (850 employees) subsidiary of Continental Corp., the big insurance group. During a natural gas shortage three winters ago, INSCO, which sells computer services to Continental and other insurers, decided that it could save fuel through what was literally an open-door policy. So one cold Friday evening, the doors throughout the firm's three-story, 102,000-sq.-ft. building were left open so that the heat given off by its data processing equipment—three large IBM 3033 computers, two printers and 160 disc and tape units—could flow to every floor. During that weekend, although the boilers were cut off, office temperatures dropped no more than three degrees.

Inspired, INSCO asked a New Jersey architectural and engineering firm named CUH2A to design a way to make full use of the 1.5 million B.T.U.s per hr. of the normally wasted heat from the computers. In place since last year, the CUH2A system employs a maze of pipes, coils and heat exchangers that allow the byproduct B.T.U.s to heat both air space and water in the original building and in a new 72,000-sq.-ft. annex. Through the system cost \$90,000, it has been a boon.

Last winter the old gas-fired boilers were not required at all for hot air, and the company's yearly gas bill has been cut from \$40,000 to \$15,000 (some boiler heat was still needed for hot water heating). The company also avoided having to put in the new annex separate boilers that would have cost \$125,000 to install and would have burned \$30,000 worth of gas annually. "The system will pay for itself by the end of this year," predicts INSCO Senior Vice President William Barron. "Last winter we were running at 78° to 82°, and we wished we could have sold some of the heat."



*By the latest reckoning of London's Brewers' Society, Australians and Czechoslovaks rank just behind the Germans, with annual per capita consumption of just under 36 gal. of beer. Americans, who consume nearly 23 gal. a year, rank eleventh.

Chevy Malibu.

The fastest-selling mid-size wagon
in Chevy history.



If you know Chevy's history of great wagons, you know that says a lot about the 1979 Malibu Wagon.

But Malibu's success shouldn't come as a surprise. It comes with that trim, maneuverable mid-size that proved so popular last year. And still stands fresh, new and timely today. An easy to handle, easy to enjoy

Chevy wagon, through and through.

Of course, being in the market for a wagon, you also want room. And that you also get in Malibu. Beginning up front with more head room and more leg room than the Malibu Wagon of just two years ago. And behind that, with the rear seat down, a wide and generous six-foot-long cargo floor. Plus a concealed storage area under the floor. Plus two storage areas in the interior side panels.



That's 72 cu. ft. of cargo-area staring back at you. And the 4-ft.-wide opening makes it easy to use.



Storage everywhere: like side compartments with available locking doors. Plus a deep bay for concealed storage that, with the lid up, is also great for groceries.

That name again?

Chevy Malibu.

The mid-size wagon with the right name on it.

And a lot of America behind it.



A trim mid-size makes Malibu easy to park. A 2-way hatchgate makes it easy to load once you're there.

Television



A meticulous reconstruction of the historical past: Nixon (Rip Torn) takes the oath of office as Pat (Cathleen Cordell) looks on

John and Mo Fight Watergate

Blind Ambition. CBS. In four parts beginning May 20

Last season ABC took its share of heat for *Washington: Behind Closed Doors*, a fictionalized twelve-hour mini-series about Watergate. ABC played fast and loose with historical facts; all names and most events were altered for the sake of heightening the White House horrors. In a new, eight-hour Watergate series, *Blind Ambition*, CBS has tried to profit from ABC's dilemma. A docu-drama adapted from John Dean's memoir (among other sources), *Blind Ambition* recites enough facts to satisfy the most literal and obsessive Watergate buff. Yet scrupulous accuracy does not necessarily make for good drama or even good history. For all its intricate detail, CBS's show is a less incisive account of the Nixon scandals than its pulpy predecessor. ABC took the audience into the heart of the forest of Watergate; CBS shows us only a numbing succession of trees.

Blind Ambition has good intentions: this mini-series is even more ambitious than its protagonist. By tracing the career of White House Counsel Dean (Martin Sheen), the show can touch on virtually every Watergate headline: the Huston plan, the Saturday Night Massacre, the plumbers' dirty tricks, the Nixon pardon. Unfortunately, writer Stanley R. Greenberg (*Pueblo*) retells the story without regard for the niceties of strong character development or well-paced storytelling. In the entire series his only theatrical flourish is the use of a flashback format in the first half. Besides being a TV cliché (especially in nonfiction dramas), the device is counterproductive. Whenever Dean reaches a pause in his reminiscences, the show stops dead so

the hero and his lawyer (Ed Flanders) can rehash the obvious moral lessons of what has just happened.

Blind Ambition's difficulties do not end there: the show's focus is wrong. Whatever one thinks of John and Mo Dean, it would be hard to argue that they are dynamic personalities. Not even a fine actor like Sheen can make the unflappable hero seem fascinating, especially for eight hours.

The tiresome Mo (Theresa Russell) seems considerably less complex than the title characters of *Laverne and Shirley*. Nonetheless, Greenberg siphons all of Watergate through this couple, and, worse still, he dramatizes the banalities of their domestic life. John's premarital flings with other women (including a French floozy who seems to have stepped out of *Irma La Douce*) get more screen time than the Ervin hearings. The Deans' bouts with alcohol are presented with the florid ex-

cess of an old Hollywood weeper like *I'll Cry Tomorrow*.

The story's truly exciting figures (Charles Colson, John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman, Bud Krogh) get such short shrift that it is often hard to tell them apart: they are interchangeable ciphers in a series of look-alike scenes. Pat Nixon (Cathleen Cordell) is a walk-on role, and Martha Mitchell is not even mentioned. The show has a surprisingly inconsistent attitude toward the casting of famous faces: Ehrlichman (Graham Jarvis) and John Mitchell (John Randolph) vaguely resemble their real-life counterparts, but many of their White House cronies do not. This indecision extends right up to the stars: Russell has been extensively refurbished to look like Mo, but Sheen has not even bothered to get John's short haircut.

There are some bright nuggets here and there. William Daniels has a hilarious deadpan scene where, as G. Gordon Liddy, he outlines his outrageous schemes to trap '72 Democratic Convention delegates with call girls. As the President, Rip

Torn does a gleefully vicious Nixon impersonation, whether he is re-enacting private Oval Office conversations (with bleeps in place of expletives) or declaring to the world that he is "not a crook." Still, Torn's caricature, deadly as it is, lacks the impact of Jason Robards' scary Chief Executive in *Behind Closed Doors*. Though Robards made no attempt to imitate Nixon's mannerisms, he probed the man's soul, Torn, mimicking Nixon's actual words and gestures, only manages to re-create the familiar public persona. The difference between the two performances is emblematic of the gap between the two series. In historical dramas, facts can be helpful tools, but it takes art to snare the truth.

—Frank Rich

The Deans (Martin Sheen and Theresa Russell) talk things over



People



Giannoulias as the KGB chicken

The one chicken in every spot at Far West sports and public events is the flappable radio-station KGB chicken from San Diego. With its infowable agility to leap and caw, the chicken clucks up everything from San Diego Padres baseball games to supermarket openings. Feathered by **Ted Giannoulias**, 24, who now earns more than \$50,000 a year for such appearances, the bird has flown as far as New York City with increasing recognition. Now, however, Giannoulias and KGB, which conceived the bird, are tangling over rights. KGB has filed a \$250,000 damage suit claiming ownership of the chicken concept and costume. The station is seeking an injunction to stop Giannoulias' performances. Crowed Giannoulias: "I intend to win this chicken suit."

If this is Friday, that must be **Rosalynn Carter** in Rome, tossing coins into the Trevi Fountain to ensure another trip to the Eternal City. With daughter **Amy** in tow, the First Lady made a whirlwind six-day tour of Geneva and Rome last week, meeting with World Health Organization experts to discuss mental health, and for 35 minutes at the Vatican with **Pope John Paul II**. Leaving the papal study in long dress and veil, the First Lady said: "He's such a wonderful person, it was a great thrill for me." The Pope was obviously moved as well. He gave Mrs. Carter an autographed photograph of himself, which Vatican Pope watchers called an unprece-

dented gift. Later she told Italian political leaders that Husband **Jimmy** will visit Rome after his summit meeting in Vienna next month. If the Trevi coins are potent enough, Rosalynn will go along as well.

There comes a time when even a Vice President would just as soon not demonstrate leadership. As when **Walter Mondale** flew back to Minnesota for the funeral of a longtime political friend. After the church service, Mondale's car shot off toward the Twin Cities airport, where Air Force Two was waiting. Following such a leader, the cortège went where he did. At graveside, confused relatives wondered what had happened to the band of mourners that had filled the church. The misled cortège was finally halted four miles out of town by a sympathetic policeman, who turned the cars around and es-



Former Senator Brooke in Washington with Anne Fleming

corted them back to a post-funeral reception.

Out but not down, former Massachusetts Senator **Edward**

Rosalynn Carter and Daughter Amy with Pope John Paul II



W. Brooke, 59, is now "restructuring my life." Brooke, defeated for a third term last fall largely because of the damaging publicity churned up by a messy divorce, scored a demitriumph as a lobbyist for low-income housing before the same Senate subcommittee on which he once sat. Now Brooke is taking a second wife **Anne Fleming**, 30, of Saint Martin in the West Indies. Fleming speaks four languages, is a gourmet cook and opera buff. But her husband is obviously as impressed by her political credentials: her great-grandfather, grandfather, father and uncle have all been mayors of French Saint Martin.

On the Record

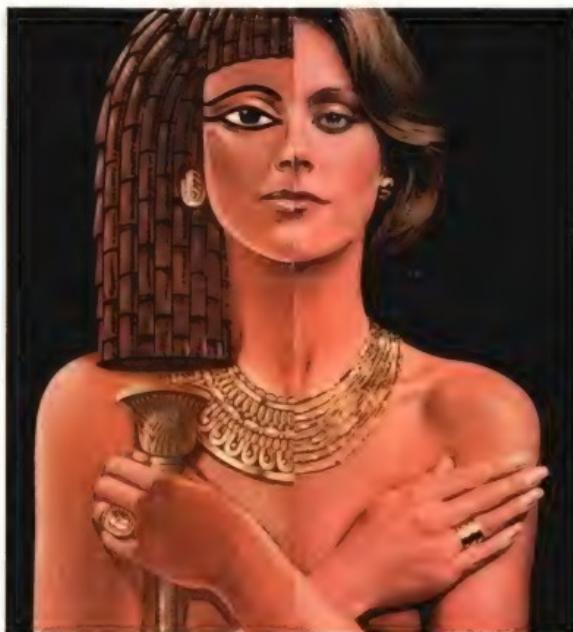
Robert Byrd, Senate majority leader, receiving a letter from Jimmy Carter to "Senator Bob Byrd": "I wish they'd call me 'Robert' down there."

Midge Costanza, feminist and ex-White House aide, on the British election: "I myself am a liberal, and Margaret Thatcher is conservative. But we've all been run by men whose philosophy we don't agree with. Why not a woman?"

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, new Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia on his election: "I'm quite convinced that it's because of the power of God."

MAN AND HIS GOLD, A SERIES

Gold on the body: the ancient urge that became a tradition.



Gold Jewelry by M & J Saar

A woman emerges from her bath, towels herself dry and begins her dressing ritual. In the next few minutes she reaches for a golden object—a necklace, a bracelet or a ring—and places it on her body.

It is a simple, unceremonious act yet in one aspect it is utterly remarkable, for it is an act both as ancient as recorded history and as modern as tomorrow. The wearing of gold on the body, beginning as it must have, as a primitive urge, has not only accompanied man through much of his evolution, it may even be his oldest surviving tradition.

One would think that a behavior

so universal would have a universally accepted explanation, but this does not exist. The famous psychologists Freud and Jung disagreed. Others, too, have studied the phenomenon and the theories range from the almost incomprehensibly profound to the almost ludicrously superficial. More serious suppositions have included sexual enhancement, social or tribal status, an inner quest for immortality, self-deception, self-esteem, superstition, religion and, as in the case of Freud, a carnal hypothesis. What is generally agreed to at this point is only that gold's attraction is deeply psy-

chological and that it has touched both male and female and in every culture that has ever known the metal.

But it is a world unseeking of theories that has dedicated itself to gold adornment and today it does so on an extraordinary scale. In 1977, it swallowed up almost two-thirds of that year's new gold supply. It also helped support industries of considerable proportions—mining, refining, manufacturing—all the way down to hundreds of thousands of retailers, over 30,000 in the U.S. alone.

It should be noted that although much of the world wears gold, it wears it in different shades—some Europeans, for example, prefer slightly redder golds while in America the choice is often yellower. Karatage, or degree of real gold content, varies, too, from country to country in a variety too extensive to list here.

It seems worth adding, however, that much jewelry manufactured everywhere in the world today uses classic techniques that date back centuries, and the gold ring you wear was probably formed using a "lost wax" method known at least 4,000 years.

Gold, of course, is not the only viable ornamentation for the body. But it is the *only* material known to man that contains in combination the four characteristics of lustrous beauty, virtual indestructibility, extreme rarity, and ease of workability. And somehow this seems to be the magic combination that satisfies the inner calling of the human psyche more than anything else.

This advertisement is part of a series produced in the interest of a wider knowledge of man's most precious metal. For more information write to: The Gold Information Center, Department T49, P.O. Box 1269, FDR Station, New York, N.Y. 10022.

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Press

Bloody Tuesday and Wednesday

And Thursday and Friday and . . .

Since French Publisher Daniel Filipacchi revived *Look* magazine in February, seven years after it folded, the glossy, large-format biweekly has been a nice place to visit, but not many journalists managed to live there. Fifteen editorial employees were fired or forced out, including Managing Editor John Durianik; Executive Editor Marianne Partridge resigned after five issues. For a time, new sackings seemed to come at the end of every week, a ritual that became

victims, who received one or two weeks of severance pay, were calling it the "Jonestown Roll Call" and the "French Terror." Said Kevin Buckley, 38, sacked as a senior editor: "There were several of us who had been freshly executed, and Wenner came by and said, 'It's been nice working with you guys.'"

By way of explanation, Wenner and Filipacchi announced that beginning with the July issue, *Look* will switch from bi-weekly to monthly publication, a move

er people, urbane people, urban people," and would avoid the excesses of celebrity journalism. He promised: "We are not going to have Farrah Fawcett-Majors on the cover, or any of Charlie's Angels."

Long before heads began rolling at *Look*, magazine editing was a particularly peripatetic calling. Among editors who this month have added new chapters to their eventful job histories:

► Byron Dobell, 52, went from executive editor to managing editor of *Esquire*, where he was an editor in the mid-'60s after a stint at TIME-LIFE Books and before detours at *New York* magazine, TIME-LIFE Books (again), *Esquire* (again) and LIFE.

► Sam Angeloff, 39, was dropped as editor of *Us* last week after a career that took him in three years from LIFE to PEOPLE to the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*.

► Peter Janssen, 41, the executive editor now running *Us*, has in the past decade moved from *Newsweek* to *Saturday Review* to TIME to MONEY to *Parents*.

Ol' Black Eyes

Sinatra resumes a feud

When Frank Sinatra had a beef with newsmen, he used to settle it with a punch in the nose, a volley of obscenities or a promise to jam a camera where the sun never shines. Now Sinatra has rejoined the fray in more orthodox and, just possibly, more effective fashion. He has endorsed an article critical of the press in *Policy Review*, published by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, and has mailed copies of the piece to the President, Congressmen, college journalism departments, publishers and columnists.

The article, which appeared in the quarterly's fall 1978 issue, was written by Washington Lawyer Max M. Kampelman. It urges the establishment of a professional code of ethics, the use of internal ombudsmen, and passage of antitrust measures to contain the growth of media conglomerates. Perhaps most significant for Sinatra, Kampelman argues for statutory revisions that would make it easier for public figures to win libel suits.

Lee Soiters, a Sinatra spokesman in Los Angeles, explained that the crooner was angered by a recent column by William Safire in the New York *Times* that mentioned his alleged gangland ties. "You are a goddam liar," Sinatra telegraphed Safire, who printed the singer's denial in a subsequent column but stuck by his original story. In a letter accompanying Kampelman's article, Sinatra urges his readers to join with him in "reminding the press that there is more to the Constitution . . . than the First Amendment it so frequently hides behind."



Look Owner Daniel Filipacchi and his new editor and publisher, Jann Wenner, in New York

"We are not going to have Farrah Fawcett-Majors on the cover."

known around the magazine's Manhattan offices as "Black Friday."

Last week most of the survivors never made it to Friday. Filipacchi turned the editorial and financial management of *Look* (circ. 650,000) over to Jann Wenner, 33, editor and publisher of *Rolling Stone*, the rock-music tabloid. Wenner will receive an unspecified fee and a share in any future profits—but no stock—and has agreed to lend *Look* \$500,000. Filipacchi, who publishes *Paris Match* and eleven other French journals, will retain 51% ownership of the magazine (six French partners control the rest). Wenner will remain *Rolling Stone*'s editor and publisher, assume those titles at *Look*, and merge the two publications' advertising, circulation and administrative staffs.

No sooner had Wenner taken over at *Look* on Tuesday than he barricaded himself in a corner office and had a secretarial summon editorial staff members one by one. Within hours he had fired 19 of 34, plus the summoning secretary. Over the next few days, nearly 80 full-time and part-time staffers on the business side were dismissed by Wenner aides. Stunned

they said justifies deep staff cuts. *Look*'s start-up costs have already topped \$7 million, and losses are mounting at the rate of \$300,000 an issue. The magazine received cautious initial praise for its mix of photos, articles about politics and medicine, and timely profiles, but lately the celebratory fluff has gained ground. Admitted former Editor and President Robert Gutwillig, 47, who remains a consultant to Filipacchi: "If we had done a better job, we would have sold more copies."

Wenner's previous foray into the slick-page magazine world ended last year, when he sold his hemorrhaging *Outside*, a monthly for campers and environmentalists, to its rival, *Mariah*. At his flagship *Rolling Stone* (circ. 620,000), advertising pages are up 18% from last year, but the maturing *Wunderkind* is said to have considered selling it and spending more time on his fledgling career as a movie producer. Yet last week Wenner seemed to be relishing his new role at *Look*, predicting that a subscription drive would push circulation to 1 million by next spring. He said that the magazine would be aimed more squarely at "young-

Music

The Duchess of Coolsville

Rickie Lee Jones hits big with a dash of scat and street poetry

That odd sound coming from the direction of your dashboard is not your old engine purring, for once, like a silver fox. It's a little tune on the radio with a dash of scat, a hipster backbeat and a lyric that truly glides, laid down in a voice of sweet rough-and-tumble. *Chuck E.'s in Love*, the most unlikely hit of the season, is fixing to elbow all the disco aside and find a snug niche for itself in the Top Ten. The song proves that despite all the flash and flack, disco still has a considerable way to go.

Whatever the fad, the Top 40 is territory that has not often been treated to the sound of well-groomed bop and is usually alien to lyrics of such well-tuned wit as these: "He was sittin' behind us down at the Pantages! And whatever it is that he's got up his sleeve! I hope it isn't contagious! What's her name? Is that her there? Christ, I think he's even combed his hair!" For this song about the amours of Chuck E., and for a fine new album full of similar vignettes of life on the main stem, you can thank Rickie Lee Jones, 24, who has never cut a record before but who has sung hard-times joints "full of bikers, degenerates, drunken men and toothless women" as recently as last year. She bought her first good guitar three weeks ago.

She is too good to be just a fluke, too tender to pass completely for the street-wise character she likes to play in her songs, too unexpected and far too unlikely to be a product of some commercial calculation. Jones' sound, gracefully old-time, never turns antique. She likes Van Morrison, Marvin Gaye and Laura Nyro, but she also talks of Peggy Lee and Sarah Vaughan with respect, performs a stops-out version of an old Louis Prima tune to close out her concerts. Her songs have their origins in, and owe a friendly debt to, the work of such all-night-joint bards as Tom Waits. Chuck E. is a real character, a buddy of Waits' and of Rickie Lee's who has now become, according to the woman who immortalized him, "king of the sidewalk, the most popular guy on Santa Monica Boulevard."

Jones' songs all have a kind of Los Angeles lyricism, fast and relaxed and flush with exotic incongruity, like L.A.'s transplanted palm trees. "My writing is all from a particular neighborhood," she

told TIME's Jeff Melvoin. "I can pick any person on this street or the next and just be them." The titles fix the tone and set the stage (*Easy Money, Coolsville, The Last Chance Texaco*), while the songs spin out little narratives of hard luck and high spirits in the big town: "There was a Joe Leavin' on the back door! A couple Jills with their eyes on a couple of bills! Their eyes was statin' They was waitin'! To get their hands on some Easy Money."

Jones sings of such capers in a mu-

tion of the album was something of a scattershot affair. Producers Lenny Waronker and Russ Titelman brought Jones into the recording studio, corralled some of the best musicians in town to play behind her, invested four or five patient months until the album was done. "Lenny and Russ could appreciate a ... um ... wild and unusual personality," says Rickie Lee. "They gave me complete space."

With only one semester of piano lessons behind her, Rickie Lee put her musical ideas across by spinning out stories to set the mood she wanted. "If I'd allowed myself to be told what to do," she says, "I'm sure somebody would have loved to tell me. But I wouldn't stand for it." That kind of stubbornness also gave the musicians a good deal of room to move. "She steps back and lets us play," says a back-up musician on her current sold-out club tour. "She knows what she wants and we like that. She's a good musician. It's hard to believe this is really her first professional gig."

He may not know about what Rickie Lee calls "extensive education in music at home." Born in Chicago, hard by Wrigley Field, the third child of a couple "in the restaurant business" (which, from the ironic Jones angle, translates as "waiter and waitress"), Rickie Lee had a vagabond childhood. Her parents split up, reunited, drifted from state to state and job to job. Her father sang a lot, wrote his daughter a little tune called *"The Moon Is Made of Gold"* ("So don't feel bad because the sun went down! The moon is made of gold"). which she includes in her show. Kicked out of high school in Olympia, Wash., Rickie Lee started drifting and bumming, drinking heavily, getting a firsthand taste of the lowlife. "I've been as far down as I can go and I made it out," she reflects. "So there's nothing to be afraid of any more." Eventually she made her way out to Venice, held down a job as waitress and started playing small clubs for free in Los Angeles.

Just now, she is polishing up her show. Rickie Lee's performance, loose and good-natured, is also self-deprecatory in a winning way. "Oh, for Christ's sake, sit down," she smiles at some folks in the audience attempting to give her a standing ovation. Also, to make sure she keeps close to her roots, she fixes a parking meter downstage as part of the show. "I really do hang out at the parking meter," she explains. She was even going to load it up with change to time her set, but she forgot. She just got too carried away with excitement.

— Jay Cocks



Rickie Lee Jones leans into a lyric during a club gig in Boston
A wild personality with a sweet tooth for bop

sky voice that slides across the lyrics, scattering between them and eliding words in vintage hipster style, as if English were a foreign language learned in a speed-speech course. For slow learners, lyrics are printed on the back of the album, and they make for some of the best new reading in pop. Still, one can appreciate the offhand confusion of Randy Newman, no small influence on Jones, and no master of elocution either. Specifically imported to play synthesizer on one album cut, Newman was asked what he thought of the song. "Can't tell," he replied. "Couldn't understand a word."

Communication during the produc-

Sport

The Miracle on 33rd Street

New York's rejuvenated Rangers take on Montreal for the Cup

The night was exploding with celebration. The New York Rangers had just defeated their suburban rivals, the New York Islanders, to earn a spot in the Stanley Cup play-offs final round against, as it turned out two days later the Montreal Canadiens. Only three times in 39 years had the Rangers got so far. In the seats near the rafters high above Madison Square Garden, fans long accustomed to disappointment got rid of decades of frustration, standing to roar their joy for four full minutes. On the ice below, Center Phil Esposito danced around the rink *sur pointe*, a 37-year-old veteran turned little boy again. Later, revelers jammed the sidewalks along 33rd Street, and cab drivers set out to carry news of the victory through the city with blaring horns.

But one man did not join in the gaiety. Ranger Coach Fred Shero, the reclusive mastermind who in less than a year had transformed a team of patsies into prime contenders, spoke briefly to the press and then simply walked out of the Garden, got into his car and drove home. Right Wing Don Murdoch explained Shero's disappearance during a moment of triumph that is the stuff of coaches' dreams: "Fred is different from most coaches, and he's made us different too."

The Shero difference is as elusive as the man himself. He leaves the teaching of his methods to Assistant Coach Mike Nykoluk, rarely even watching his team practice. The Rangers receive no win-one-for-the-Gipper pep talks from Shero; he prefers to chalk low-key aphorisms on the locker room blackboard. Sample: **UNITY AND HARD WORK IS OUR MOTTO.** Shero even leaves the disciplining of the team to the players themselves. Shortly after taking over the badly divided Rangers last June, he approved the appointment of six captains: the six set team policy, levy fines and take turns leading the team on the ice. Shero did intervene on one point: he lifted the traditional ban against beer in the locker room.

If it is an enigmatic way to run a hockey team, the system has certainly worked, both in New York and in Philadelphia, where Shero and Nykoluk won two Stanley Cups. Shero explains: "A lot of coaches think they're God. They're afraid to delegate responsibility and think that they have to do every little thing themselves. I believe you hire good people, give them the responsibility and then trust them to

carry it out. It's the same with the players. I don't know how they were treated before, but I treat them like men. I treat them better than my own kids. I imagine At least I've never once yelled at them."

The Rangers, who have had eight coaching changes in ten years, responded as though given a new lease on their careers. Shero's Philadelphia teams had been noted for their rugged style of hockey, and the mild-mannered Rangers initially feared that they would be forced into the Flyers' fighting style. But Shero decided they were better skaters than his former players. He encouraged them to use their skills to ride opponents off the puck. The result: a distinctive new Ranger style that blends a swarming defense with tightly organized rushes up ice. Against the Islanders, the Shero system worked well enough to stop the team with the league's best regular season record, and all without benefit of a single mugging. Proclaims Esposito: "I knew this team had potential. I knew it last year. The changes in coaching and management brought it out."

Once considered over the hill, Esposito has ranged up and down the ice as he did in the glory days at Boston, when he set a single-season scoring record of 76 goals and 76 assists. The team's young defenders, Dave Maloney, 22, Ron Greschner, 24, and Mike McEwen, 22, seldom al-



Montreal's Lafleur on the attack

Facing an enigma and memories of 1940

lowed the Islanders a clean second shot. Goal Tender John Davidson, thought to be too big at 6 ft. 3 in. to react swiftly, completed the transition from belly flopper to stand-up defender and kept the Islanders at bay with miraculous saves.

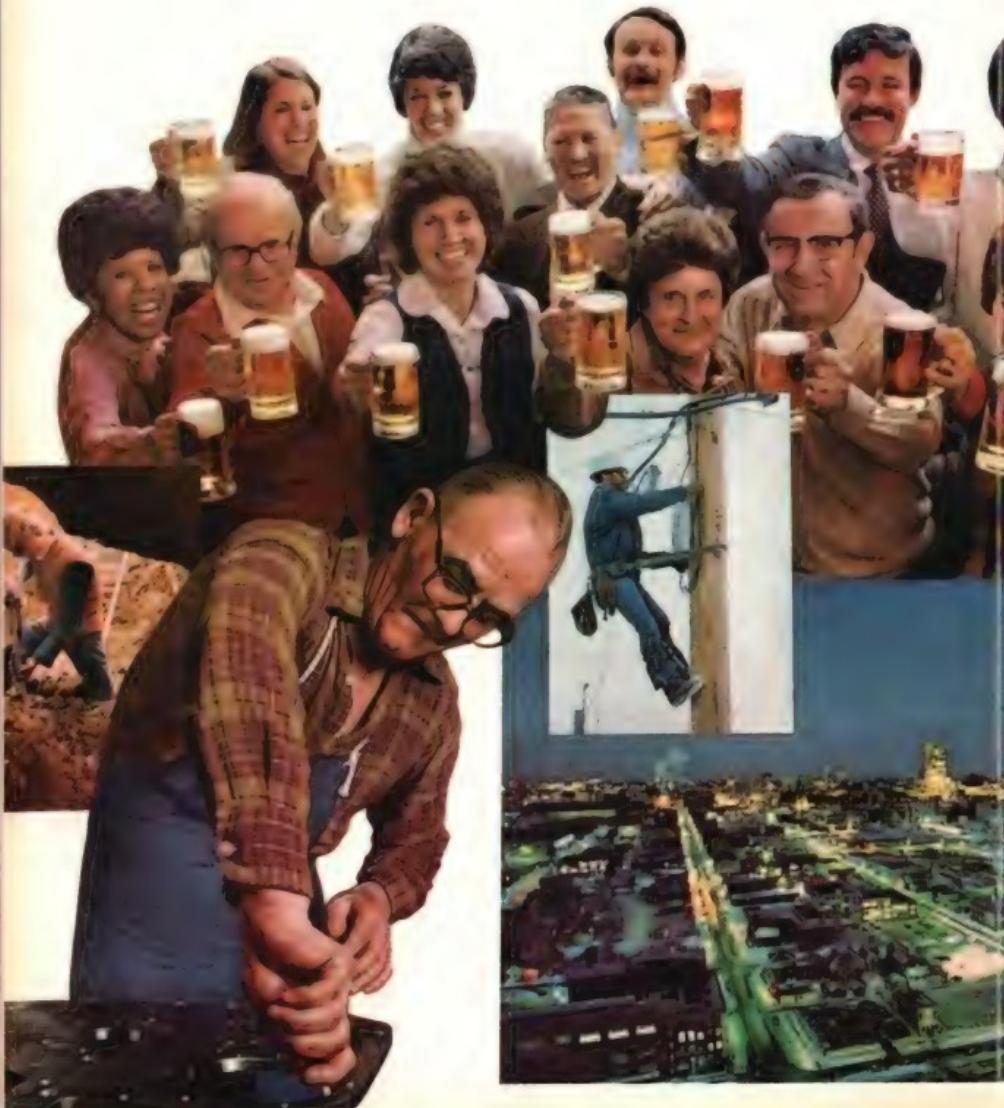
Davidson will need all his skills and then some against the Canadiens, who have won the Stanley Cup for the past three years and, led by the peerless Guy Lafleur, defeated the Boston Bruins in a magnificent, brawling 4-to-3 series. It could be a fascinating duel: the old boys against the new. The revived Rangers have incentive enough. They finally have a chance, as long as the one that has brought them this far, to win their first Stanley Cup since 1940.

New York Goal Tender John Davidson fending off the Islanders



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Art

Treasures from Korea

Romantic sensibilities are revealed in San Francisco

Although Koreans call their country Choson, or Land of the Morning Calm, its history has been anything but. Subject to sporadic invasions by Chinese, Japanese and Mongols, Korea has long suffered the imposition of foreign political, religious and aesthetic traditions. Understandably, its art was long considered provincial and derivative. Spurred by archaeological discoveries of the past five decades though, historians have finally begun to recognize the Korean achievement, which Americans can see in the most comprehensive exhibition of Korean art ever assembled.

Organized by the National Museum of Korea, "5,000 Years of Korean Art" opened at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, and during the next two years will travel to six other U.S. cities. In order to assemble this dazzling show of 345 objects, both public and private collections in Korea were virtually stripped. There are treasures of gold and gold enameling discovered in tombs as recently as 1974, and menacing guardian figures found in the ruins of a Buddhist temple. There are scrolls and paintings, daggers and belt buckles, masks and fans. All the traditional motifs and idioms of East Asian art appear in Korean work—dragons, Buddhas and bamboo trees—but most have been somehow changed, made Korean with an indigenous fluency that renders them distinctive.

Funeral ornaments dating back to the Old Silla dynasty (5th-6th cen-

tury A.D.) display a barbaric splendor never before found in East Asia. Discovered amidst a stash of weapons and earthware, a crown glitters with spangles of gold and jade that adorns its antler-like shafts. This animal symbolism, some historians believe, attests to the shamanic beliefs of the early Koreans and suggests that they had more in common with the nomadic horsemen of the Siberian steppes than with their Chinese neighbors.

Through Chinese domination, however, Buddhism consolidated its hold over Korea by A.D. 527 and for almost a millennium served as the chief source of inspiration. Granite caves were carved with figures of the "Enlightened One," and hundreds of effigies were made for temples. These Buddhas gradually took on a distinctly Korean look. More naturalistic, more linear and more attenuated than the Chinese models, they also began to reflect the features of their creators: faces grew rounder and cheekbones higher. Head bent in contemplation, a bronze Maitreya (a young Buddha) possesses a native spontaneity and grace. Similar figures later appeared in Japan, establishing

Korea as the transmitter of Buddhist thought from the mainland.

In ceramics, Korea was unsurpassed by her neighbors. During the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 918-1392), even the Chinese praised Korean pottery, marveling that "the secret color of Koryo is the first under heaven." The secret color was celadon, a haunting shade of pale green applied in rich, oily glazes. Breaking from the self-conscious traditions of the Chinese, the Korean potters indulged their own romantic sensibilities, producing elegant, elongated vessels. Some bloomed into flowers and animals—a water dropper took the form of a monkey; a tea dish the shape of a water lily.

During the 16th century, there was a shift in Korean painting from the religious to the secular—a shift that paralleled a similar movement in Europe. By the Yi dynasty (A.D. 1392-1910), Confucianism was in the ascendancy in China and hence in Korea as well. With a philosophical stress on the practical, artists turned to landscapes and portraits. The scroll painting of Yi Chae by an anonymous artist, for instance, depicts a Neo-Confucian scholar in a realistic, unsentimental manner.

Other artists began to limn scenes from daily life. In contrast to the sedate, idealized renderings of the Chinese, there is a certain humor, a realism bordering on caricature in these works: in one, a scholar pulls up his robe to dip his toes in a cool stream; in another, a group of women enjoy their day off in the country. As such depictions of manners and mores demonstrate, the Koreans were survivors who never lost the ability to find pleasure and beauty in the everyday. ■



Seated Maitreya in gilt bronze



Portrait of Yi Chae, a Neo-Confucian scholar



Celadon vase with inlaid cranes

All the traditional motifs and idioms of East Asian art have been somehow changed, given an indigenous and distinctive fluency.

Living

A Window on History

But the view of Hartford's Old State House will cost you

During the 18th century, the English had to pay taxes on the windows in their houses. When another kind of window tax was proposed in Hartford, Conn., last year, the good citizens responded enthusiastically. The beneficiary of the revenue, after all, was not the British war chest but a restoration fund for the nation's oldest statehouse, a building that dates back to 1796. The method of taxation was unorthodox: \$5 for every window with a view of the historic building.

A three-story federal-style structure of red brick and stone, the Old State House in downtown Hartford was designed by the new nation's foremost architect, Charles Bulfinch, who later did extensive work on the nation's Capitol. Having served as the seat of state government from 1796 to 1878 and the city hall from 1879 to 1915, the building was declared a landmark in 1960 and turned into a museum of Connecticut history. Since then, however, maintenance funds have been scarce, and city officials began to talk of razing the deteriorating edifice to make way for office buildings.

Alarmed, local residents formed the Old State House Association in 1975 and organized a fund drive with a goal of \$850,000 for restoration, and \$1 million for an endowment to maintain it. They raised \$1,530,000. Although large corporate donations accounted for the bulk of the money, the group decided to press for wider community involvement. "Some of us were talking about how in the early days, the neighbors of the Old State House



The landmark seen from a nearby office
A voluntary tax on intangible wealth.

had a grounds committee that took care of the building," explains former University of Connecticut President Homer Babidge Jr. "Since most of the neighbors are now in skyscrapers, we could not ask them to come out and clean up. So I brought up the idea of asking everyone who had a window view of the grounds to pay a voluntary tax."

A "viewing rights committee" was established forthwith, and Yale University Junior Alison Wondruska, 20, took a window-to-window census. Calling on small restaurants and shops as well as firms located in nearby high-rises, Wondruska determined that 1,600 windows had full views of the site. Some people gave even more than their share, and the window tax campaign raised some \$8,700 within eight months. Next week Connecticut will celebrate Rededication Day to mark the completion of work on the building.

Some of the companies paid the \$5 fees themselves; others asked for contributions from their employees. Henceforth, the tax will be collected annually, and contributors will receive tax stamps in the form of decals which they can paste on their windows—presumably in spots that will not obstruct the view.

As with any tax law, though, complications exist. "There are questions to be raised," says Babidge. "Will the viewing rights tax not be seen as an insidious first step toward taxation of intangible wealth? Doesn't simple fairness suggest that windows of differing size be assessed differently? How about pedestrians, bus riders and loafers: are they to be free-loaders while the middle class is once again taxed to subsidize their pleasures?" Such problems aside, there is still some comfort for the assessed: the window tax is tax-deductible. ■

Smashed to Bits

Since last October, a two-ton green granite sculpture has been on display outside an uptown Manhattan art gallery. Valued at \$80,000, the abstract 8-ft.-high *Ubatuba* (named after the Brazilian town where the granite was quarried) was the work of French Sculptor Antoine Poncet, a disciple of Jean Arp. Poncet hoped that *Ubatuba* would bring "a fresh and pure breath" to a city he calls "New York—the Tough." He was pleased that Gallerie Owner Jacob Weintraub had put the sculpture outdoors "because there it comes in contact with the people." New Yorkers were pleased too: they often stopped to run their hands over the sculpture's smooth, glossy surface. But Poncet did not reckon just how tough New York could be:

one night last week unseen vandals pulled *Ubatuba* from its pedestal, smashing it into bits.

The following day, Joseph Ternbach, an art restorer who has worked with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, examined the shattered fragments and announced that he could mend *Ubatuba* in two months. New York Senator Daniel Moynihan, one of the sculpture's more vocal admirers, then called a fundraising meeting, where the Art Dealers Association of America volunteered to underwrite the \$2,000 needed for restoration. Poncet, who worked on *Ubatuba* over a five-year period, was less optimistic that all the Senator's men could ever put *Ubatuba* back together again. "Everything would be destroyed in terms of its integrity and its authenticity," he said sadly. "I don't know how all this will end."



The sculpture in former days

Science



Ciochon (kneeling at left) and Savage with Burmese team in the Pondaung Hills

Asian Roots?

Burmese find stirs speculation

Where did the primate line that led to man really originate? Lately most of the evidence has pointed to Africa, where scientists have found the bones of a knuckle-walking ape called *Dryopithecus*, a creature that lived some 20 million years ago and is generally believed to have given rise to both apes and man. This ape's own ancestors seem likely to have lived in Africa as well. As Exhibit A, Duke University Anthropologist Elwyn Simons offered fossils, found near Cairo, of a tree-dwelling primate 30 million years old; Simons christened the creature *Aegyptopithecus*. Last week, however, a team of Burmese and American scientists created a stir in anthropological circles when they announced that they had found primate fossils in Burma that may be 40 million years old. That could plant man's roots in Southeast Asia.

The telltale fossils, as described by Paleontologist Donald Savage of the University of California, Berkeley, and Anthropologist Russell Ciochon of the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, are four lower-jaw fragments. They were found in an ancient seabed in the Pondaung Hills west of Mandalay, embedded below a layer of marine organisms called foraminifera, dating from about 40 million years ago. Associated with the find were other fossils of animals known to have lived during the same period, lending more weight to the fragments' apparent place in time and indicating that the Pondaung Hills had also supported lizards, several kinds of turtles and monstrous crocodiles.

The fossil bones and teeth were not,

in fact, the first fragments found in the area. During the 1920s, before Burma broke away from British domination and became an independent country, scientists found similar specimens. The fossils were poorly preserved, but they seemed to represent two slightly differing kinds of primates that were named *Pondaungia* and *Amphipithecus*, and their discovery persuaded some anthropologists that the roots of the higher primates lay in Asia. Of the new fragments, all but one have been matched with the original finds.

Both creatures appear to have weighed roughly 30 lbs. and somewhat resembled a rhesus monkey in body form and size. Their diet was probably fruits and other vegetation. As Savage says: "They were a sort of monkey with apelike teeth, bouncing through the trees." They could thus emerge as an earlier common ancestor than *Aegyptopithecus* of both apes and monkeys, and as a link back to such lower primates as lemurs and tarsiers. That might put them very near the start of anthropoid evolution: Ciochon speculates that they may have migrated into Africa via western Asia to evolve into later ancestors of early man.

Before most anthropologists agree to accept Asia as the seedbed of the evolution of higher primates, however, more evidence will have to be gathered. Ciochon and Savage plan a return to the Burmese site before year's end. "The door's opened a crack now," says Ciochon, and he and Savage hope to work on a long-range joint project, with any future finds to be placed in Burmese institutions. The four jaw fragments have already been turned over to the Burmese government. Part of the reason is safekeeping. Another part, as the American scientists admit, is to keep them safe from any Burmese jawboning about scientific theft. ■

Sexy Strategy

Fooling the crafty cockroach

For some 300 million years, the cockroach has survived the ravages of nature and, lately, the best efforts of man to squash it, spray it or bug-bomb it into extinction. Some 3,600 species of the hardy creature thrive in a variety of habitats all over the world. Now one of the most common species in the U.S., *Periplaneta americana*, or the American cockroach,* may be hit by a blow below the belt: scientists have synthesized periplanone B, a chemical that acts as one of the female roach's "essences d'amour."

A whiff of periplanone B from a female acts as an aphrodisiac for male American roaches, prompting them to mate. If the males are overwhelmed by a massive man-made dose, however, they may become too confused to find mates, and thus will fail to procreate.

This sex strategy has been touted as a promising approach in pest control. But the search for the complex roach excitant was a needle-in-the-haystack challenge. For Dutch Entomologist C.J. Persoons, the breakthrough came with new techniques for separating chemicals. Working with 75,000 virgin female roaches, Persoons gleaned a precious 200 millionths of a gram of periplanone B. That was enough for him to analyze the compound and to work out a possible structure for it. Then Chemist W. Clark Still at Columbia University synthesized a compound so potent that a drop could stimulate close to one million tons of male roaches.

Unfortunately, no amount of synthetic periplanone B is apt to stimulate an entire roach species into extinction. As rueful scientists have found in using pesticides, a few hardy roaches can usually survive a chemical spray because of some lucky genetic abnormality and will then propagate a new generation of spray-resistant offspring. Declares Entomologist Louis Roth, a pioneer in roach research: "The best we can hope for is to reduce their numbers."

Believe it or not, a reduction in roach ranks may be a better solution than extinction. Different roach species figure in the food cycles of lizards and birds. Moreover, loathsome as it may seem, entomologists speculate that roaches may some day be a source of nutrition for humans. ■

*Despite the name, the German cockroach, *Blattella germanica*, is probably most familiar to U.S. city dwellers as a kitchen nemesis. The American roach is often found where food is stored.



American roach

Religion

Submission to "God Alone"

Newly exiled Georgi Vins speaks for Soviet Reform Baptists

On Thursday morning he was stuck in a jammed and filthy Siberian prison cell. Three days later, dressed in a dark blue suit issued to him by the Soviet government, he sat in the First Baptist Church of Washington while his host, the President of the United States, conducted a Sunday School class on *1 Kings 21*. Even to secular eyes, this turn of events might seem miraculous; to the Rev. Georgi Vins, 50, it is quite literally an act of God.

Vins is an uncompromising Baptist. The trade that brought him and four other Soviet prisoners of conscience to the U.S., in return for two spies sent back to the Soviet Union, has presented the world with a new sort of religious witness. The stocky preacher and poet, who spent seven of the past 15 years in Siberia, is the first leader of the tens of thousands of breakaway "Reform Baptists" to reach the West. Fourteen years ago, they formally seceded from the government-recognized All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists in order to fight for more religious freedom than Moscow permits. In an interview with TIME's John Kohan, Vins painted an extraordinary portrait of a beleaguered religious movement and of a life that in some ways recalls letters of the imprisoned Apostle Paul to the early church.

"Our situation is difficult for Western Christians to understand," he says. Since the days of John Bunyan and Roger Williams, Baptists have traditionally believed in total separation of church and state. But attempts to practice that belief have had hard treatment in the Soviet Union. Baptists who follow Soviet rules can hold worship services, but the government forbids them to preach the word of God in public or to bring up their children with religious instruction.

Although they have been driven by religious conscience into resisting Moscow's strictures, the Reform Baptists insist that they are not political dissidents. "In accordance with biblical teaching," Vins says, "we believe that every authority is ultimately from God and that we are obliged to submit ourselves to such authority on all civil matters. To work. To pay taxes. To show respect to the government. But when it is a question of faith, then we submit ourselves to God alone."

Vins received a degree in electrical engineering from the Kiev Polytechnical Institute in 1952 and was ordained a minister in 1962. Struggle, and even martyrdom, in the service of religious conviction runs in his family. His father Pyotr was a U.S.-trained preacher who went back to the Soviet Union in 1922 as a mis-

sionary. He was arrested three times for his religious activities and died in 1943 somewhere in Stalin's vast Gulag system. Georgi pursued a career in industrial research in Kiev until he dedicated himself full time to religious work in 1963.

What Vins calls a strong "Baptist awakening" was occurring, especially among the young, partly in response to a virulent anticlerical campaign then being conducted by Soviet Party Chief Nikita Khrushchev. Obviously under strong



Soviet Baptist Leader Georgi Vins
In the tradition of Roger Williams

pressure, the All-Union Council ordered Baptists to keep children from attending church and to baptize no one under the age of 30. For many Baptists this signified, as Vins puts it, that the All-Union Council was "so dependent on the state that it could not withstand the pressure of atheism."

Believers demanded an end to government restraints, as well as a democratic vote in the choice of council leaders. Though the hated orders were rescinded, the bond of trust between the leadership and the more impassioned Baptists was broken. The Reformers formally went into schism, setting up their own church council with the Rev. Gennadi Kryuch-

kov, now 52, as president and Vins as secretary. To dramatize the need for an overhaul of Soviet legal restrictions on religious life, Vins and Kryuchkov led a daring march on Communist Party headquarters in 1965.

Both were soon sent to jail for three years. Once released, they set up a clandestine field operation for support of the Reform churches. Kryuchkov, the movement's leader, was never caught, and still directs the organizational work in hiding. But in 1974 police arrested Vins again in Novosibirsk. Refusing an offer of leniency in return for his cooperation with the KGB, Vins served a five-year term in the harsh labor camp at Yakutiya in Siberia. After that term ended this spring, he faced five more years of Siberian exile, when his liberation was engineered by Washington.

In describing the Reform Baptists' secret activities, Vins tells of a remarkable mobile publishing operation known as *Khrisitanin* (the Christian), that roams the country, turning out thousands of Bibles and pamphlets. Local Baptists gradually buy up paper and hoard it until a ton or more has been collected in one place. Then they call on one of their printing teams, which arrives with a special offset press that can be dismantled and carried in several suitcases. Since the Soviets permit no teaching seminaries for Protestants, the Reformers also run a Bible correspondence school, as well as an organization that seeks aid and publicity for religious prisoners. Their evangelistic work includes open-air testimony meetings, held in the woods, which often attract a thousand or more young people.

Vins' appearance in the West raises again the anguish question of what, if anything, Christians outside the Soviet Union should do to help those inside. The Baptist World Alliance and other international church bodies have thought that public protest can be counterproductive. And so does the All-Union Council. That view Vins quickly dismisses. "If everyone had remained silent, we might very well be dead," he says of the recent prisoner exchange. He adds that his own prison treatment improved markedly after U.S. Congressmen began calling for his release.

Georgi Vins will go on speaking out and writing on behalf of the Reform cause wherever he finally decides to settle. He recalls that in Moscow, just before he was deported, a political officer explained that he had been deprived of his citizenship for actions harmful to the Soviet government, and "went on to say that at first American society would show great interest in me, but in the end everyone would forget me. I would be of no use to anyone. Your fate is a sad one," he said. "You will always be an exile." Vins replied: "The God in whom I believe will decide that."

Education

"More Losers Than Winners"

Facing up to closing down some schools

This year the number of children attending school in the U.S. has dropped to 47.8 million, down 3.3 million from a decade ago. All over America in towns and cities and suburbs, agonizing choices about closing schools and dismissing teachers are now being made. TIME Midwest Correspondent Barry Hillenbrand took a firsthand look at one troubled elementary school district in Evanston, Ill., on Chicago's North Shore, where four school buildings are to be closed. His report:

Evanston was at first surprised by declining enrollment. Experts had been predicting a steady growth in the town for years. Besides, Joseph E. Hill, superintendent for District 65, points out: "It was something we did not like, so we were reluctant to meet it head on." But last fall, after making a rough forecast of pupil population by counting birth records at local hospitals, the district faced up to a grim conclusion: the present total of 8,000 students, already down 3,000 from the 1968 record of 11,000, would drop to 6,000 in five years. At the same time, townspeople voted down a \$2 million increase in the property tax. Says Gail Curry, president of the Willard School P.T.A.: "The people were saying they didn't want to pay government any more taxes, and the school tax was the only one they had any direct vote on."

After the vote, Superintendent Hill took a deep breath and wrote a five-year plan for the district calling for the closing of four school buildings (out of 18) and the trimming of \$2.4 million in staff and program costs. Hill was prepared for a bitter debate on his plan. In 1975 he presided over the closing of three elementary schools. "You don't make friends closing schools," he says. Parents and teachers quickly organized to fight for the schools on Hill's new list. Throughout January and February, during the coldest and snowiest winter in Evanston's history, while most restaurants were empty and movie theaters closed for lack of audiences, the evening school-board meetings were crowded with 400 or 500 people, all eager to be heard.

It was bitter and theatrical. One night some parents carried in a child's coffin while placard-bearing children blew out candles, a parent read a statement foretelling the death of a school because the board had marked the principal for dismissal. Other nights featured debates pitting blacks against whites, those who valued music instruction against those

who wanted foreign languages. It was neighborhood against neighborhood, teachers against administration, north Evanston vs. south Evanston. "We may have generated more hostility and more unfulfilled expectations by opening debate than if we had never asked for opinions," says Board Member Mary Anne Wexler, who like many others on the board began to feel worn out and put upon as the months of combat dragged on.

The din subsided in early March, when the board completed a long series of votes altering Hill's complicated plan. Unlike many school districts around the country, Evanston had no real problem schools that could be easily pruned away with general approval and perhaps relief. There had to be more losers than winners. One winner was Willard School, a 40-year-old building that Hill at first

marked for closing because of its relatively high maintenance costs. Willard parents mounted an effective Save-Our-School campaign.

In Willard's place the board decided to ax the Kingsley School. The reason was that Kingsley, one of the newest and finest buildings in the system, seemed ideal for profitable leasing to the city as a gym and auditorium. But parents of two handicapped children filed suit to prevent removal of special orthopedic facilities established at Kingsley. The cost to refit another school with such facilities may be as much as \$200,000. By a 4-to-3 vote, the board persevered in closing Kingsley, a north Evanston school, and then found itself compelled by a sense of equity to scrap a plan to keep a Skokie elementary school open one more year (a portion of Skokie village is in District 65). And so it went.

Wounds left over from Evanston's bitter integration battles of the '60s were opened again. With some evidence, a number of people believed the board had favored keeping schools open in predominantly white neighborhoods, placing an unfair burden on the black and integrated neighborhoods. Adding to the pain was the board's decision to transfer the nationally acclaimed Martin Luther King Jr. Laboratory School, which draws the best students from all over the district, to another building and sell the old Foster School building, which for more than 60 years had been the focal point of black community activity. The N.A.A.C.P. is preparing a suit to keep Foster open.

Another unpleasant surprise to parents was the fact that it is so hard to make money out of school property. The closing of school buildings, nearly all in prime residential neighborhoods, will not result in a bonanza for the district, as many taxpayer organizations claimed. Local zoning and state laws greatly restrict the district's ability to rent any building to profit-making companies. Tearing the buildings down and selling the valuable land is equally complicated. It is also a source of concern to parents who believe—with some reason—enrollments may one day increase and the buildings will be needed for students again and could not be duplicated or brought back at anything like present prices. Because most of the teaching staff will simply be transferred elsewhere in the district, Evanston will save only about \$150,000 in upkeep and payroll for each school closed.

Inevitably, school closings are more painful to parents than to students. "Kids don't care that much," says one parent, "as long as they can be a crossing guard at the new school. Kids, you know, don't know a thing about property values."

DAILY NEWS

PANEL: SHUT 200 SCHOOLS BY 1990

New York experts predicting a sad future



Evanston teachers protesting the school board's plans
"Kids don't know a thing about property values."

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Old Hat

FEDORA

Directed by Billy Wilder
Screenplay by Billy Wilder
and I.A.L. Diamond

She is a legendary beauty whose legend and beauty refuse to fade even though she is pushing 70. Now a shabby producer who was her lover one night long ago arrives at her villa on Corfu to lure her out of retirement. It is the only way he can get financing for his last-hope project, a remake of *Anne Karenina*. The star is as ravishing as ever, thanks, it is said, to one of those goat-gland doctors, who is part of her grotesque entourage. Unfortunately the lady seems to be as mad as one of Hedda Hopper's hats! Hedda is but one of dozens of names from our



Marthe Keller in *Fedora*

A legend with a double.

shared celluloid past invoked to give the movie a certain air of strained realism.

What is going on here? In terms of mystery, not much. It will quickly become obvious to the most gullible moviegoer that the star is foisting a double on the public and that she must be a close blood relative. The result of this trumpery is that poor William Holden, as the producer, must act far dumber than we know this intelligent actor to be. It is a measure of his reliable skills that we stay with him. We must also believe that Marthe Keller, who plays Fedora in the flashback scenes and her double in the contemporary sequences, has the Garboesque acting skills to match her undeniably beauty, and that requires a much more precarious leap of faith. Finally, because this movie invokes Director Wilder's earlier *Sunset Boulevard*, we are asked to accept a melodramatic manner of storytelling and characterization that is outmoded by at least a quarter of a century. Settings, dialogue,

Cinema

the very looks on the faces of everyone in Fedora's household teeter on the ludicrous.

There is a sober subtext to this nonsense. The film preaches against the excesses of self-absorption that are the wages of modern celebrity. It also makes a case against the cult of youth by demonstrating the grotesque lengths to which some people will go to try to cheat mortality. Since only a few thousand of the world's most privileged people are in a position to cope with these problems, it is hard to work up much moral indignation about them.

And yet in some perverse way *Fedora* is an entertaining film. It is not cynical. There is a weird charm in its enthusiastic embrace of antique cinematic conventions and, more important, a certain daring in the way the piece is written. Throughout their script Wilder and Diamond are ready to undercut their melodrama in order to make judgments ranging from the sly to the nasty about everything from the way to handle the funerals of world-class celebrities to the way the rest of us allow ourselves to be drawn into their self-created dramas. There is a splendid cheekiness of old age about this picture. Its creators seem to be saying, "This is the way we've always made them; this is what we think about the false and foolish world we have inhabited all our lives." The energy of the determinedly unfashionable informs their work, and almost redeems it.

Richard Schickel

Odd Man Out

SAINT JACK

Directed by Peter Bogdanovich
Screenplay by Howard Sackler.
Paul Theroux and Peter Bogdanovich

When a director's three latest films are commercial and critical bombs like *Davy Miller*, *At Long Last Love* and *Nickelodeon*, where does he go next? In Peter Bogdanovich's case, it is back to basics. *Saint Jack*, the director's first film since 1976, is a sharp departure from the projects of his Hollywood heyday. Adapted from a Paul Theroux novel set in Singapore, the movie has a small budget, no big stars and not a single loving reference to a classic screwball comedy. Cyl Bill Shepherd is nowhere in sight.

Still, some habits die hard. If *Saint Jack* is not another complete embarrassment for Bogdanovich, it nonetheless reveals his deficiencies as a film maker. Again he describes emotions without ever feeling them; he flings tired ideas to death and gets bland performances from his cast. *Saint Jack* shows off Bogdanovich's considerable craftsmanship, but it has the look of a high-minded movie, too empty to arouse any emotion other than indifference.

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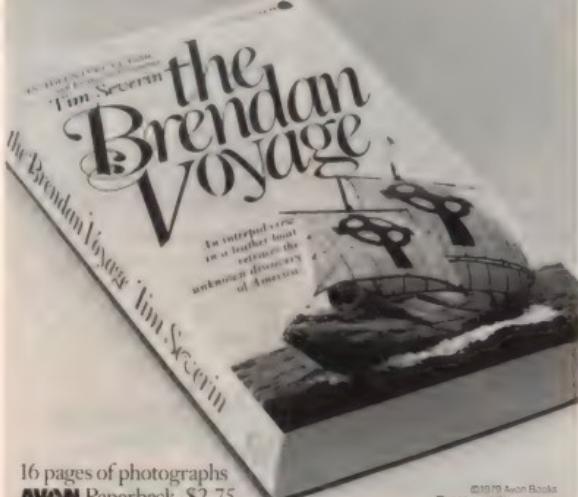
-Boston Globe

In the spirit of the *Kon Tiki* and *Ra* expeditions, Tim Severin and his crew of four set forth for one of the most amazing sea adventures of all time.

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Cinema

The film's mode might be described as bargain-basement Graham Greene. The hero, an American expatriate named Jack Flowers (Ben Gazzara), is a pimp who, irony of ironies, has a heart of gold. Jack cares for his clients and his employees, provides for his friends, avoids depraved sex, and even talks to cats. He is the proverbial good man in a bad time (1971, approaching the end of Viet Nam) and a first-class bore. Even his day-to-day working life lacks thrills. Most of the time Gazzara just wanders about aimlessly with a rueful grin plastered on his face, much as he did in John Cassavetes' tedious *The Killing of a Chinese Bookie*. Like all saints, though, Jack must be tempted by a truly immoral proposition in the film's final stretch, a mysterious



Ben Gazzara in Saint Jack
A pimp with a heart of gold

confidence man offers him \$25,000 to blackmail a visiting U.S. Senator. This sleazy scheme brings *Saint Jack* to fitful life, but our hero shuts the door on temptation, all too predictably.

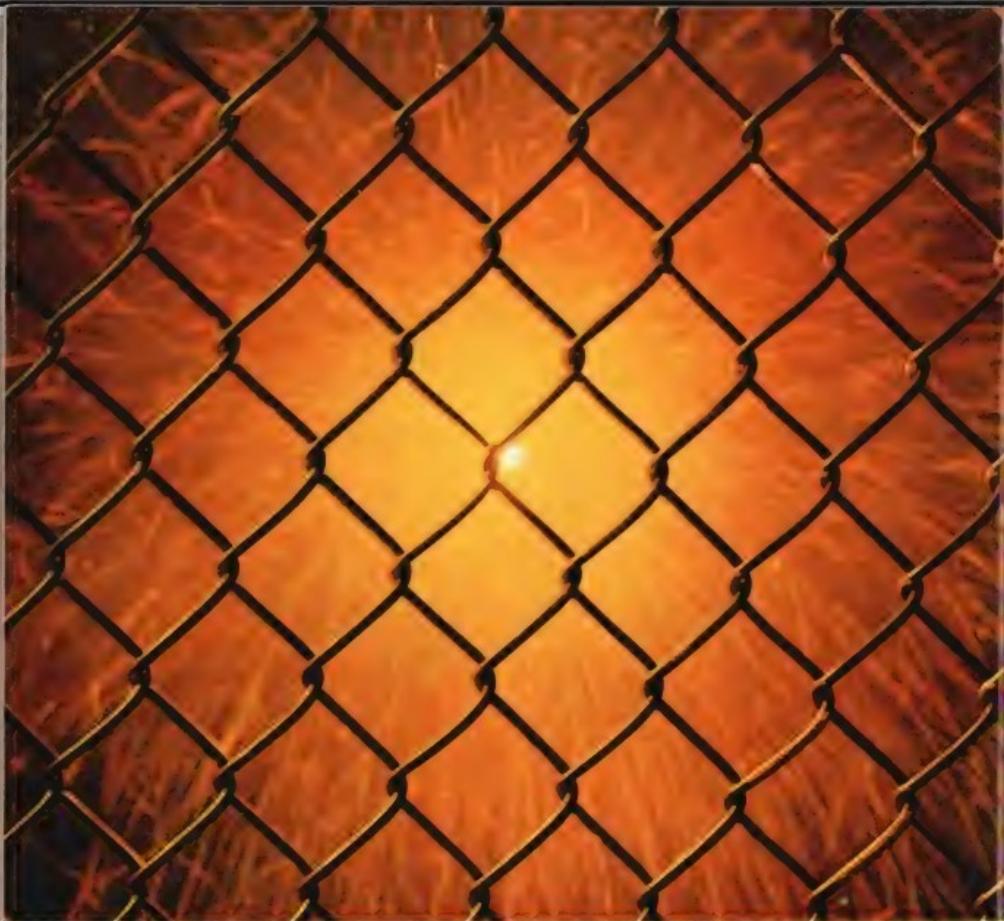
There is plenty of tame local color, including what must be some of the least erotic whorehouse sequences ever recorded in an R-rated film. Unlike Novelist Theroux, Bogdanovich does not have a particularly keen descriptive eye; he goes for tourist snapshots instead of true grit. Except for Denholm Elliott, who offers a fastidious portrait of a typically down-and-out British colonial, the actors do little to help the proceedings. Gazzara is fairly blameless, given his flat role, but the miscasting of his con-man nemesis is a disaster. Had a strong actor played the villain, who recalls Harry Lime in *The Third Man*, *Saint Jack* might have had some tension and dramatic heft. Instead, the director has placed himself in the role and then played it tepidly. No doubt it is healthy for Bogdanovich to be adventurous, but, for now, his new directions all appear to be wrong turns.

—Frank Rich



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Books

Notes from the Fourth World

A BEND IN THE RIVER by V.S. Naipaul. Knopf: 288 pages. \$8.95

"The tall lilac-coloured flower had appeared only a few years before, and in the local language there was no word for it. The people still called it 'the new thing' or 'the new thing in the river,' and to them it was another enemy. Its rubbery vines and leaves formed thick tangles of vegetation that adhered to the river banks and clogged up waterways. It grew fast, faster than men could destroy it with the tools they had. The channels to the villages had to be constantly cleared. Night and day the water hyacinth floated up from the south, seeding itself as it travelled."

V.S. Naipaul is not the sort of writer who needs a metaphor to improve the clarity of his art. Yet this passage from his new novel, *A Bend in the River*, colors a simple botanical fact with the suggestion of a broader truth. Alex Haley notwithstanding, uprootedness remains the predominant theme of the times. The good modern novelists know this, and Naipaul is one of the best. He is also one of the most exotically unrooted, an Indian, born on the Caribbean island of Trinidad, who has spent most of his life in England. Like his friend Paul Theroux (*The Great Railway Bazaar*), Naipaul can haunt the dusty corners of the world for months on end. His nonfiction reports are Baedekers of forgotten history and cultural schizophrenia. Former colonies in the West Indies and Africa, for example, may denounce the ways of their previous masters, but they are fatefully wedded to them. It is a condition frequently encountered in Naipaul's work. He once wrote about asking for the local guava jelly in one of Trinidad's intellectual clubs, only to be told that they only had English greengage jam.

In his new novel, the elite of an African river town gather daily at Bigburgers. The Dr. Livingstones of market research have left no port uncalled. "They don't just send you the sauce, you know, Salim. They send you the whole shop," boasts the franchisee.

To Salim, a coastal African descended from fastidious Indian immigrants, Bigburgers resemble "smooth white lips of bread over mangled black tongues of meat." Salim is the novel's narrator who,



Masai tribesman guards earth satellite station in Kenya
Promising young men go directly from dugout to jet.

like the self-seeding hyacinth, drifts through the swirls of political and social change. The result is a sensitive fictional character with the detachment of an anthropologist.

Although the river, the town and the nation of the book are not named, a compact and teeming world is irresistibly re-

alized. There are those special breeds of Levantines and Greeks who stick it out on the ragged edges of free enterprise; the inevitable scholars: priests and primitive-art collectors; old servants who have made parasitism an honorable profession; and promising young men who will go directly from dugout to jet. The economy of the town remains fairly simple. Villagers from the bush sell smoked monkey meat to steamer passengers. The money is used to buy pots, cloth and razor blades from the shops in town. The shopkeepers can then eat Bigburgers.

Salim himself owns a dry-goods store, bought cheaply when revolution depressed real estate values. It was not only a business decision but a chance to flee from his confining family compound on the coast, not truly African but an "Arab-Indian - Persian - Portuguese place." He arrives in time for the next cycle of boom and bust, and is drawn into a number of loose but illuminating relationships. In the Domain, a modern enclave built by the President for useful foreigners and technocrats, Salim is introduced to the casual sophistications of the Big Man's white men and the records of Joan Baez. He is moved but not duped: "It was make-believe . . . You couldn't listen to sweet songs about injustice unless you expected justice and received it much of the time."

Life in the Domain also improves Salim's sex life and his understanding of young, European-educated Africans hurtling into the 20th century. "The airplane is faster than the heart," one of them tells him. "You arrive quickly and you leave quickly . . . You see that the past is something in your mind alone, that it doesn't exist in real life. You trample on the past, you crush it. In the beginning it is like trampling on a garden. In the

Excerpt

"I said, 'You should look at this. They're working on a new kind of telephone. It works by light impulses rather than an electric current...'" Ferdinand said, "Who are they?"

"What do you mean?"

"Who are the 'they' who are working on the new telephone?" I thought: We are here already, after only a few months at the lycée. He's just out of the bush: I know his mother; I treat him like a friend; and already we're getting this political nonsense. I didn't give the answer I thought he was expecting. I didn't say, 'The white men.' Though with half of myself I felt like saying it, to put him in his place.

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Last year, Harvard President Derek C. Bok authorized a grant of \$100,000 to establish "Walter Lippmann House" to become the headquarters of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, established 40 years ago to "elevate the standards of journalism." Harvard stipulated that the grant be matched by non-Harvard funds.

The house is a handsome, historic and spacious Cambridge, Massachusetts, landmark, built in 1856 by the College carpenter, Ebenezer Francis.

The Nieman Curator and staff, in consultation with several distinguished supporters of the program, have accepted the challenge to match the Harvard grant. They have also determined that additional funds will be required to renovate and maintain the structure, and to name the new headquarters in honor of the great American journalist, Walter Lippmann. Accordingly, a separate and restricted Lippmann Fund of \$400,000 is envisioned to cover costs of operation and upkeep of the house and grounds.

"Lippmann House" will henceforth provide space for all Nieman seminars; study and work space for Nieman Fellows; storage facilities for Nieman archives, and facilities for servicing Nieman seminars, receptions and conferences.

You are respectfully invited to contribute to this effort, a center for one of journalism's most prestigious institutions, in the name of one of its most respected figures and in the interest of a better-informed citizenry.



Sometimes, looking backward in the late light, one almost sees a pattern in the past. I did when I heard that Harvard University had bought the old Francis House in Cambridge for its Nieman Foundation for Journalism and was raising a Walter Lippmann Memorial Fund to endow it. I had been the first Curator (as Harvard calls it) of that foundation forty years ago and Walter Lippmann, already the most admired American journalist of his generation, was one of its begetters, advising the University on what should and should not be done with the Nieman bequest.

All this came together in my mind as I thought of the perfect propriety of a Walter Lippmann memorial housing a Nieman Foundation, which has now become one of the most famous journalistic institutions in the world. In those early days, when I was Curator, we lived in no such glory. We had the occasional use of a lounge in the Yard and we ate our weekly dinner in the back room of Joseph's restaurant in what was then called the Arts' Club in the Back Bay. But even then we were a phenomenon and it was to Walter Lippmann, as I have always believed, that we owed our distinction.

We were a journalists' school which was not a School of Journalism, and Harvard, though we could scarcely be said to belong to it, belonged to us. We could use its libraries and laboratories, sit in its classrooms, make friends and counselors of its professors, and generally educate and reeducate ourselves at its expense, and all because President Conant, persuaded by Walter Lippmann, had so conceived of the relation between journalism and the university in the contemporary world.

This I say was my belief at the time though I never discussed it. But of one thing there was no question. It was Walter Lippmann's example, whatever his advice may have been, which supported the foundation in its early, innovative years. He was not only a great modern journalist, he was also one of the first instances of what a modern journalist would have to be if journalism were to serve the new, vast, doubtful modern world.

—Archibald MacLeish

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Books

end you are just walking on ground."

Sad but true, especially when that past is distant and fragmented. So it is in much of the Third World. Naipaul once again confronts it, not with the conscious ironies that often front for self-pity, but with the disciplined eye of self-awareness.

R.Z. Sheppard

"I am a man of a certain race from a certain place, looking at the world in a certain way and coming to certain conclusions," says Vidiadhar Surajprasad Naipaul as he neatly vacuums a pinch of snuff from the back of his small brown hand. The face is Uttar Pradesh, the author's ancestral home before his grandfather emigrated from India to Trinidad nearly 100 years ago. But the accent is utter Oxford, where in the early '50s young "Vidia" headed to escape what he calls the "colonial squalor" of his tropical island.

"Trinidad," he recalls, "was incomplete in every way. Everything was imported. Every book, every machine, every idea came from abroad. I felt I was lost, very far away."

In some respects Naipaul still is. One might say that he belongs to the Fourth World, that highly intelligent, talented minority of the formerly colonized who, like Salim in *A Bend in the River*, have "no flag, no fetish." One of seven children of a journalist father, Naipaul grew up surrounded by aunts, uncles and 50 cousins. "I got all my knowledge about human behavior before I was ten," he remarks without a trace of nostalgia. "I made the amazing discovery that if you don't like someone it is certain that he doesn't like you."

His early fiction, *The Mystic Masseur* (1957), *Miguel Street* (1959) and *A House for Mr Biswas* (1961), drew on the substance of those early years. Some reviewers chided him for his satirical treatment of the underdeveloped world. He answered them in the pages of the *Times Literary Supplement*: "Imagine a critic in Trinidad writing of *Vile Bodies*: 'Mr Evelyn Waugh's whole purpose is to show how funny English people are. He looks down his nose at the land of his birth. We hope that in future he writes of his native land with warm affection.'"

Despite a shower of literary prizes in Britain, Naipaul did not become widely known in the U.S. until the publication of *Guerrillas* (1975), a novel that balefully viewed the corruption and selfishness behind most revolutionary rhetoric. He still refuses to draw ideological or color lines between tyrants left or right, black or white. When he speaks of backward nations, he means those where solutions are assumed to be political. "In countries without institutions, law and an honest sense of history," he believes, "politics usually means no more than identifying the enemy. And there are always new enemies to be got rid of."

Naipaul also sees peril in the West



V.S. Naipaul

Politics means identifying the enemy.

His criticism and warning after teaching this past year at Connecticut's Wesleyan University: "The students I have met think that they, by being Americans and well-to-do, bring privilege to what they touch. This vanity is becoming an empty caste arrogance. Ignorant people in prep-school clothes are more dangerous to America than oil embargoes."

Good Neighbors

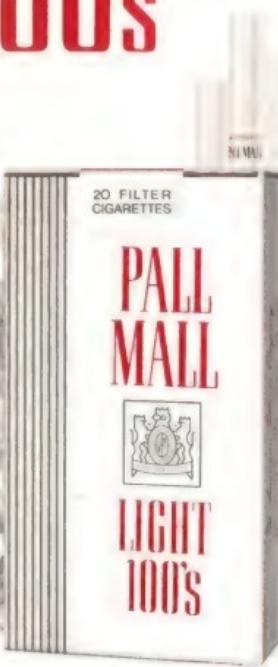
LEST INNOCENT BLOOD BE SHED
by Philip Hallie
Harper & Row, 304 pages, \$12.95

Le Chambon is a Protestant village in the Cévennes mountains. Even in France, few have heard of it. The ignorance is not surprising: goodness is not the sort of thing that arouses historians.

The manifestation came during the years of the Holocaust. The people of Le Chambon, by stealth and stubbornness, without violence, at mortal risk, turned their town into a sanctuary for Jewish refugees. They did it, moreover, under the nervous gaze of the Vichy government and in the shadow of a Nazi SS division stationed near by. Thousands of adults and children were saved. Those who could not be concealed were sometimes guided past hostile French police and German troops through the eastern mountains to safety in Switzerland. Years later the state of Israel saluted the work of Le Chambon during "the epoch of extermination" and awarded a Medal of Righteousness to Protestant Clergyman André Trocmé, who inspired the village in its resistance to evil. The story of Le Chambon is heartening, its neglect is not. It may be, as Au-

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Books

Author Philip Hallie puts it, that altruism "lacked the glamour, the wingspread of other wartime events." Yet the tale (which is many tales) is rich in potential suspense and drama, and not only of the theatrical sort; it is an exceptional instance of moral force prevailing over brutal military and political powers.

Hallie had never heard of Le Chambon until, by chance, in a vast collection of Holocaust documents, he came across a scant description of what the village had done. A professor of philosophy at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, Hallie was obsessively studying the cruelties of the Nazi era. As he read the few pages that told of Le Chambon, the researcher found his face covered with tears. That night he decided to pursue the story. Within a year he was in the village itself, interviewing, piecing together the chronicle of how the village had organized and functioned, how its leaders had been arrested and sent to detention camps and then mysteriously released. Hallie accompanies these testaments with philosophical reflections on the conscience of the community in a situation of unrelenting menace. In Le Chambon, he found, there worked a dedication to human life that transcended all religion and politics. It could be seen in stealthy heroics but also in the naive warmth of Trocmé's wife Magda: when two policemen came to arrest her husband, Mme. Trocmé invited them to have dinner before leaving. Friends later rebuked her: "How could you bring yourself to sit down to eat with these men who were there to take your husband away, perhaps to his death? How could you be so forgiving, so decent to them?" Magda only replied: "What are you talking about? It was dinnertime ..."



The Trocmé family, circa 1940

"Forgiving and decent were foolish words."



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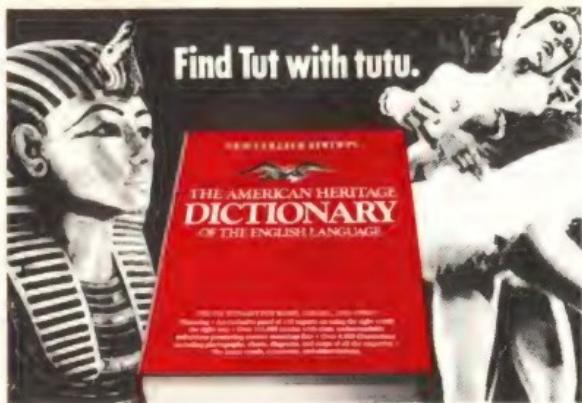
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Books

we were all hungry. The food was ready. What do you mean by such foolish words as "forgiving" and "decent"? For her there was no ethical struggle; a hungry man was a hungry man.

Recollections of such incidents were swiftly fading from memory when the author got to Le Chambon 30 years after the war. It may be regrettable that Halie put them down in a form in which so much drama and suspense are lost in scholarly detail. That he recovered the story at all, however, can only be called another good.

—Frank Trippett

Editors' Choice

FICTION: *Birdy*. William Wharton
Dubin's Lives. Bernard Malamud
Sleepless Nights. Elizabeth Hardwick • *Good as Gold*. Joseph Heller • *SS-G.B.* Len Deighton • *The Best American Short Stories 1978* edited by Ted Solotaroff • *The Flounder*. Günter Grass

NONFICTION: *A Distant Mirror*. Barbara W. Tuchman • *Confessions of a Conservative*. Garry Wills • *The Eighth Day of Creation*. Horace Freeland Judson • *The Powers That Be*. David Halberstam • *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. Edmund Morris *To Build a Castle*—My Life as a Dissenter. Vladimir Bukovik • *To Set the Record Straight*. John J. Sirica

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. *The Matarese Circle*. Ludlum (1/ last week)
2. *Good as Gold*. Heller (2)
3. *War and Remembrance*. Waugh (1)
4. *SS-G.B.* Deighton (4)
5. *Hanta Yo*. Hill (10)
6. *Overload*. Hartley (5)
7. *The Third World War*. Hackett, et al. (3)
8. *Shibumi*. Trevanian
9. *Chesapeake*. Michtener (8)
10. *The Passing Bells*. Rock (8)

NONFICTION

1. *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet*. Turnover & Baker (1)
2. *How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years*. Ruff (3)
3. *Lauren Bacall by Herself*. Bacall (12)
4. *The Bronx Zoo*. Lyle & Galenbeck (5)
5. *To Set the Record Straight*. Sirica (6)
6. *Sophie Living and Loving*. Hochmer (4)
7. *How to Get Everything You Want Out of Life*. Brothers
8. *A Distant Mirror*. Tuchman (9)
9. *Linda Goodman's Love Signs*. Goodman (10)
10. *Mommie Dearest*. Crawford (8)

Theater

Hell in Ice

DEVOUR THE SNOW
by Abe Polksky

The fate of the Donner Party is a macabre legend in the winning of the West. A group of families set out from Illinois for California in 1846. Trapped in the Sierra Nevada Mountains by an early snowfall, they built crude shelters of logs and hides. They ate their animals and their shoes. But the darkest art of the 47 survivors out of a party of 82 was to eat their own dead.

Out of this dire saga, Polksky has fashioned a grim drama about the existential anguish of last resorts. The play is fascinating even when its revelations are most appalling. Presented at off-Broadway's Hudson Guild Theater, *Devour the Snow* differs markedly from the spate of terminal situation dramas now in vogue in that it does not possess a moment of comic relief. Polksky means his play to be harrowing, and it is.

He has used a little-known incident as the fulcrum of the drama. A survivor, Lewis Keseberg (Jon De Vries), instituted a slander trial against other members of the group, led by James Reed (Berkeley Harris), who had accused him of theft and murder. Though Keseberg won his suit, the trial records do not exist, so the play is an imaginative reconstruction.

The thought that grips the playgoer's imagination as he views the courtroom is that apart from the presiding officer, John A. Sutter (Paul David Richards), and Sheriff McKinstry (Bob Ari), most of the people present can only be there through having eaten human flesh.

On the physical level, the trial is con-



Harris and De Vries in *Devour the Snow*
Even cannibalism has its pecking order.

cerned with who ate whom when. Even in cannibalism a pecking order is revealed. No particular stigma seems to be attached to having eaten two loyal Indian guides. Keseberg, being a German, is supposed to have acted out of depravity, while the native Americans plead pure necessity. When Keseberg reveals that he ate his own dead daughter, the horror of the primal taboo seems to invade the playhouse. It is as if one were present at the banquet at which Atreus served up to his brother Thyestes the three sons of Thyestes, and the father, having learned what he had eaten, pronounced the awe-

some anathema that resonates through all of Greek tragedy.

Devour the Snow is a profoundly moral play in the guise of a murder thriller. Polksky probes areas of guilt, self-deception, self-corruption and the agonizing question of "What price survival?" The cast is exemplary, and Jon De Vries as the tormented Keseberg sculptures a portrait of hell in ice. Toward the end, Polksky resorts to melodramatic devices that break the play's stark tension, but he is a welcome addition to the select company of playwriting naturals.

— T.E. Kalem

T.K.O.

KNOCKOUT
by Louis La Russo II

Some plays are the comic books of the theater. All of their characters are caricatures. Their situations have the labeled banality of canned clichés. The dialogue is Cro-Magnon English. In scene after scene the ludicrous and the dreadful intersect at some flash point where the playgoer's ribs collapse in implausible laughter.

Knockout is just such a joker of a play. A movie in embryo and autopsy, it contains elements of every grade-Z fight picture ever made that was not worth its weight in popcorn. Give playwright Louis La Russo II credit for knowing his Italo-American dropouts, fighters with four-letter mouths. He plants neon stickers on his key figures. The good guy (Danny Aiello) is Over-the-Hill. The bad guy (Edward O'Neill) is Below-the-Belt. There is an English Eliza Doolittle (Margaret Warncke) for whose favors they stage a slam-bang finale. Too bad someone forgot to throw in the towel.

— T.E. Kalem

Milestones

DIED. Charles Frankel, 61, Columbia professor of philosophy, founder of the new National Humanities Center in North Carolina and Assistant Secretary of State under Lyndon Johnson (1965-67) who resigned his post in protest against the Viet Nam War; of gunshot wounds apparently inflicted by robbers who also shot and killed his wife; in Bedford Hills, N.Y.

DIED. Barbara Hutton, 66, oft-wed Woolworth heiress whose personal misfortunes earned her the nickname "poor little rich girl"; of a heart attack; in Los Angeles. Her seven husbands included Laotian, Lithuanian and Russian princes, a Prussian count and Actor Cary Grant. A granddaughter of the founder of the 5 and 10c store chain, Hutton inherited some \$25 million at age twelve, but was long plagued by illnesses that ranged from kidney disease to cataracts, and spent her

last years a recluse, often bedridden and weighing only 80 lbs.

DIED. Talcott Parsons, 76, pre-eminent social theorist who through four decades of teaching at Harvard and dozens of scholarly works molded generations of sociologists; of a stroke; in Munich. Influenced by the German thinker Max Weber, Parsons attempted to construct logical categories into which he could fit every kind of social relationship. His theories, which played down conflict and tolerated inequality, were considered conservative and have been criticized as irrelevant. But Parsons took pride in preferring "more nearly pure research" to the trend toward relevance.

DIED. Bernard Leach, 92, artist-potter who brought the method of Japanese ceramics to the West; in St. Ives, England.

DIED. Cyrus S. Eaton, 95, self-made multi-millionaire industrialist who, while championing U.S. capitalism, advocated closer ties with Communist nations in the interest of world peace; in Northfield, Ohio. Born in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, Eaton was dissuaded from becoming a Baptist minister by Oil Magnate John D. Rockefeller Sr., who recognized his knack for business. Eaton amassed a fortune in power companies, steel and rubber concerns. After Hiroshima his chief interest became saving "capitalism and all mankind from nuclear annihilation." He conducted a series of "Pugwash Conferences" between Western and Communist intellectuals, promoted trade with Eastern bloc countries, and met frequently with Soviet leaders—efforts that won him the Lenin Peace Prize in 1960. Said he: "We must either learn to live with the Communists or resign ourselves to perish with them."

Time Essay



TIME/LIFE

The Sad State of the Passenger Train

Certain public services are so obviously desirable that they are beyond debate in modern urban societies. The thought of doing without schools, parks, hospitals, street lighting and such could scarcely enter a civilized mind. The ever wandering human species recognized roads as obvious necessities soon after man began meandering across the earth. Later, mechanical wonders that aided travel were put in the same category. Today every ranking industrial nation nurtures the use of cars, buses and airplanes. Along with these, railroads are treated as indispensable in every well-developed country—except one.

The amazing exception happens to be the U.S., a nation that pioneered in railroading with more vigor and daring than any other in the 19th century. It also did so on a grander scale, binding an immense continent with tracks and producing trains of such magnificence that they moved Nathaniel Hawthorne to exclaim: "They spiritualize travel!" Most Americans once agreed, and even today travelers lucky enough to wind up on a good train find this way of traveling superior in every way to the fumes and péeses of the throughways and the sardine-can intimacy of the time-rupturing jet planes. Yet, in spite of the heroic past, the U.S. has let its passenger rail travel system fizzle and sputter down into a national embarrassment.

Today service is scant, schedules are unreliable and amenities are often sparse. The equipment includes, in the forthright phrase of Amtrak President Alan Boyd, "a lot of junk." The situation might be called ridiculous if only in light of the universal recognition of the passenger train as the most expedient mode of moving large numbers of people from city to city. In an energy-short era, the railroad, fully exploited, offers the most fuel-efficient means of public transport.

The plight of U.S. passenger travel is downright humiliating when it is compared with the superb services of, say, Japan, France and Britain. British trains run so close to the mark that passengers carp about a five-minute overdue arrival. Japan's celebrated bullet trains, at up to 130 m.p.h., make the U.S. counterparts seem like earthworms. Naturally such service does not come free. Britain subsidizes its trains at a yearly rate of \$728 million, Japan (with less than half the U.S. track mileage) at \$4.1 billion and France at \$930 million.

When Amtrak was created eight years ago there was hope for improved U.S. passenger trains, and there was even some progress. But now, with the country still needing to do a great deal better, it stands at the verge of deliberately doing worse. Reason: a Department of Transportation plan that would amputate 12,000 miles from Amtrak's 27,500-mile system. It would also wipe out some popular trains, including the Washington-New Orleans *Crescent* and New York-Canada *Montrealer*. This would be accompanied by slashes in Amtrak funds, forcing the company into offering truncated services at higher fares.

Though the plan would likely reverse the recent trend of growing ridership, Transportation Secretary Brock Adams insists that it is constructive. Still, he has pushed it in Congress mainly as a handy device for saving perhaps \$300 million a year. Congress, which must reject or acquiesce in the scheme by May 22, has so far seemed woefully ready to let it go to effect without substantial changes.

Rail travel advocates fear that, on top of the sudden loss of almost half of Amtrak's system, the plan might mark the beginning of the end for all significant intercity rail services in

the U.S. Even if it may be too late to stop the DOT plan, it is not too late to examine how the U.S. came to such a shabby pass.

The amputation plan embodies a whole bundle of questionable notions that have long clouded the prevalent American view of passenger rail service. A conspicuous one among them was evident in the chartering of Amtrak, which was directed to function as a profit-making organization. The cold fact is that no national passenger system, in the final accounting, ever pays its own way. Amtrak's succession of deficits (\$600 million this year) was inevitable, and the DOT reaction rested on yet another flawed notion: the remedy for an insufficient passenger system is to cut it back and make it even less sufficient. These and other peculiar notions—including the specious belief that Americans do not really like to ride railroads—add up to a sort of official mythology of passenger travel in the U.S.

The odd thinking that has long held sway in national rail travel policy springs out of a stubborn resistance to rail travel as a public service justified not by profits but by its contribution to social convenience and well-being. After all, municipalities everywhere subsidize local mass transit and recognize the obvious need to do so. Washington still thinks of automobile transportation as strictly private, even though the Federal Government alone has invested some \$48.6 billion in roads since 1971. Airlines are similarly considered private, even though they would be as financially strapped as Amtrak if they were billed for only the nearly \$2 billion the public pays each year for the air traffic control systems. Every attentive citizen, finally, becomes aware of the inextricable public-private money mix that sustains all transport. But the strangest thing—and perhaps the most revealing—is that nobody gets worked up about it except when the issue of railroads comes up.

This peculiar official sentiment is linked, underneath, to a mental picture of the railroad industry that lingers from the past. The trains that used to inspire novelists and songwriters were contrivances of freebooting laissez-faire capitalism, and they became symbolic monuments to a time that believed that any enterprise that could not make a profit deserved to die. In fact, though, an extensive passenger-train network tenuously survived into the 1940s, when, suddenly needed for war duty, it worked profitably at capacity. Then, in the postwar period, when the nation lavished attention and money on the development of air and highway transport, rail travel sank into the red. One reason was that the mail subsidies that used to help pay the basic cost of a passenger train were increasingly handed to truckers and airlines. Passenger trains fell into the trend of continual service cutting that both reduced chances for a comeback and encouraged Americans to turn more and more to cars.

Despite this unfortunate history, the nation that has so superbly cultivated highway and air travel could plainly do just as well by rail travel if it chose. The energy crunch alone, which is already creating a surge of new riders on Amtrak's long-run trains, is good cause for so choosing. But there are many other reasons for doing so, not least that train travel at its best, in addition to being highly efficient, is perhaps the most attractive form of travel for millions. Before any obviously desirable passenger system can be built, however, the country will have to realize that it is not the passenger train, but only its thinking about it, that is obsolete.

Frank Trippett

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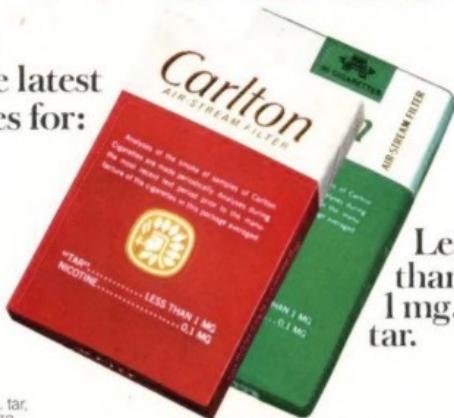
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